A Companion to Chivalry

Edited by

ROBERT W. JONES AND PETER COSS

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Introduction

ROBERT W. JONES

Chivalry is still present in our language and culture, if residually. Most people would probably understand it today in terms of courtesy and generosity towards others, especially (if controversially and sometimes ironically) when it comes to male behaviour towards women. At the same time, for many it continues to evoke a past world of valiant knights fighting for a just cause and obeying the moral strictures of their calling that centred on what we would tend to call fair play. These perceptions have a degree of validity.

As soon as one delves more deeply into the medieval world, however, it becomes readily apparent that chivalry was more complex and multi-faceted. Scholars exploring the meaning and historicity of chivalry find themselves confronting a socio-cultural phenomenon that was heavily nuanced and that had many, sometimes rival, dimensions. What, they tend to ask themselves, lay at its core and what was contingent? Did it indeed have a single essence? In attempting to answer these and similar questions historians have adopted a wide variety of approaches. The aim of this book is to explore these, not only to provide a synopsis of the scholarship but also to suggest new insights and new lines of inquiry. Accordingly, each scholar has been asked to draw on their own area(s) of expertise and to offer their own particular take on the subject.

Peter Coss opens the volume with a critical review of Anglophone and Francophone historiography of the origins and meaning of chivalry, showing where the various viewpoints differ and interconnect. He then examines the maturation of chivalry in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries and the processes involved in its social and geographical diffusion. A process of crystallisation led to the creation of a chivalric community that shared as its core values of martial prowess, personal honour and entitled independence. The control or harnessing of this aggressive independence is a recurring theme through many of the chapters of this work. David Simpkin investigates the desire of the monarchs of Europe to direct the activities of the chivalric elite for war and government, arguing that, for the most part, that elite was cooperative and constructive. This was conditional, however, on the prince being seen to behave in a chivalric manner himself, either as *primus inter pares*, a knight

amongst knights, or as a lord dispensing largesse and patronage in reward for service. David Green's chapter takes a more detailed look at one of the key ways in which princes sought to shape chivalry for their own benefit: the establishment of the secular orders of chivalry. The English Order of the Garter and the French Order of the Star were formed by their respective monarchs to galvanise the chivalric elite to military endeavour during the Hundred Years War, whilst the Burgundian Order of the Golden Fleece seems to have been an attempt by the duke of Burgundy to draw the nobility of a rather disparate collection of lands together and in his service.

The demands of *prouesse* shaped the structure of medieval armies and their thinking on war. In my own chapter on the organisation of the chivalric elite for war I argue that the lack of structure in the chivalric component of medieval armies, at least below the level of the ward or battle, was a consequence of the interpersonal relationships between the chivalric elite that were the basis for recruitment. This lack of regular small-unit organisation was also a result of, and indeed exacerbated, the inevitable tension between the need for knights to charge in good order – *ordinate* – and the individualistic heroism that prowess and honour demanded in order to prove oneself a skilful warrior. The regulations imposed on armies on campaign, such as the series of ordinances created for English armies in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, can be seen as attempts to control and manage these tendencies towards independence of action and the potential for conflict when men focused on status and honour came into contact with one another. With this in mind one might find it ironic that one of the key texts offering practical advice on warfare and the conduct of the warrior, the subject of Matthew Bennett's chapter, was the fifth-century *De Re Militari* by Vegetius. As he points out, it was not Vegetius' advice on the training, organising and disciplining of legions that interested his medieval readership but rather his advice on matters of strategy and leadership.

It has often been claimed that the Church played a major part in shaping chivalry and ameliorating its worst excesses. The military orders, of which the Templars, the Hospitallers and the Teutonic order are perhaps the three most familiar, are held up as the epitome of the Church's achievement in this regard. Helen Nicholson's discussion of the orders suggests that the picture is more nuanced. To be sure the military orders encapsulated much of what was chivalric, but the monasticism with which they were imbued tempered its more individualistic and self-serving tendencies, abnegating selfish interests in the service to God. Consequently, the orders were lauded not only for their reputation as fearsome warriors but also for their discipline in battle. Even so, honour and martial virtue were still important to the institutions, their members and their supporters. The most obvious example of this is the way in which the Teutonic order would organise *reisen*, crusading campaigns in Lithuania, in the fourteenth century. The order actively encouraged Western European knights to volunteer

by turning the crusade into a grand chivalric occasion, replete with banquets, an Arthurian 'table of honour', and all the trappings of court.

Matthew Woodcock's chapter on 'the end(s) of chivalry' picks up on this theme. He explores how Tudor and Stuart monarchs, seeking to write a narrative for their reigns, used pageantry, tournament and the ever-powerful Arthurian myth to anchor themselves within England's past. He sees them *recasting* chivalric virtue as deriving less from martial pride and more from devotion and service to the sovereign. At the same time, however, he sees the chivalric elite continuing to look for opportunities to display chivalric behaviour, even though the battlefields of early modern Europe no longer suited its individualistic tendencies.

Whilst many of the chapters deal with attempts to control and direct the chivalric community, it should not be forgotten that chivalry was essentially a cultural form that lauded violence and promoted the superiority of its adherents over those around them. Samuel Claussen and Peter Sposato, in their chapter on chivalric violence, remind us of this very clearly. Whilst acknowledging the work of John Gillingham and Matthew Strickland, both of whom argued for chivalry's role in lessening the brutality of war compared with the norms of Anglo-Saxon and Celtic military cultures, they are more convinced by Richard Kaeuper's emphasis on how chivalry encouraged and normalised violent behaviour, and, indeed, made it the highest of virtues.[1] In their case studies of Spain and Florence they also remind us that while chivalry may have been a pan-European culture it nonetheless exhibited regional variations.

It is noteworthy that many of the examples of chivalric violence described in Claussen and Sposato's chapter are acted out with the clear intention of making a statement. Chivalry was performative and those who sought to follow its tenets did so for an audience. For the acquisition of status and recognition as a *preud'omme* – a man of prowess – chivalric deeds not only had to be done but also had to be seen to be done. Hence heraldry developed as a sign-system, as my own chapter explores, allowing individuals to be recognised on the tournament- and battle-field so that their reputation for prowess and honour might be increased. Heraldry was diffused downwards, being adopted by the household knights of the great lords at the same time as chivalry was established as the culture of a closed elite. The function of heraldry within the performance of chivalric deeds gave birth to heralds who, as spectators of both tournament and battle, recorded and disseminated reports of the actions they witnessed; these were repeated (and embellished) by chroniclers and poets alike. However, these chroniclers and poets did more than just record the events of the past. As Joanna

[1] M. Strickland, *War and Chivalry: The Conduct and Perception of War in England and Normandy, 1066–1217* (Cambridge, 1996), J. Gillingham, 'Conquering the Barbarian: War and Chivalry in Twelfth-century Britain', *The Haskins Society Journal* 4 (1992), 67–84. R. Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe* (Oxford, 1999).

Bellis and Megan Leitch show, they were part of a body of chivalric literature that served as a mirror for reflecting the proper order of society, once again couched in terms of the performance of chivalric acts and behaviours. Works like Froissart's *Chronicle* or Sir Thomas Gray's *Scalachronica* sought to inspire the chivalric audience. Again, there is control and direction; the works balanced the glorification of war with the pathos of death in battle, transmuting the horror into glory, the violence into valour. The chronicles, and the romance and epic literature whose style they emulated, were as much didactic works as they were entertainment. They might serve as a critique of the realities of war or provide examples of behaviour to be emulated.

Performance needs a stage. Oliver Creighton's chapter on the 'chivalric landscape' describes the vistas opened up by the new approaches within the field of landscape studies. He explores the variety of locations where chivalry was played out, noting how carefully they were selected, whether battlefield, tournament, castle or garden, and also how carefully they were constructed. He sees just as much artifice in a medieval courtly landscape as in that of an eighteenth-century stately home. As with the literature, the chivalric landscape was crafted upon an imagined ideal. Castle architecture provided rooms with the perfect vistas over perfect gardens and looked out over a perfect wilderness, designed for the perfect hunt.

One of the most specific elements of the chivalric landscape must surely have been the tournament field. The tournament was the quintessential chivalric activity and, as Richard Barber's chapter shows us, its development parallels that of the culture which created it. Born out of training for combat, in its early days it was wild and chaotic and every bit as deadly as the real battles it so resembled. Increasingly, however, it became a game to be played, practised, formalised and governed by rules. By the fourteenth century the tournament had become a vehicle of royal power; magnificent spectacles were choreographed to show the crown's chivalric credentials, full of allusion to a mythical chivalric past of Arthurian legend, and inextricably linked with the secular chivalric orders.

Actors need costumes. Ralph Moffat's chapter on arms and armour lays out the wide variety of war-gear available to the chivalric warrior, equipment that was designed for the purpose of warfare. Showing increasing sophistication in their manufacture, and regional specialisation in their forms, the armour and weapons of the man-at-arms developed over the centuries as wholly practical tools for combat. Specialist weapons and armour were also developed specifically for the tournament, where they could be tailored to the particular circumstances of the joust. There was, however, an element of costume in the equipment of the knight, with style and fashion being as important to the wearer as practicality. The ownership and wearing of complete harness was in many ways as defining an emblem of membership of the chivalric elite as heraldry, and in some cases as clear a means of identification. Whilst the harness itself was costly enough, and

thus a reflection of the owner's status, luxurious decoration and embellishment heightened its value as the symbol of a martial elite.

The audience for the chivalric performance was predominantly internal. The knight performed great deeds so that he might gain status and renown amongst his fellows. Heralds, as we have suggested, may have been witnesses and recorders of deeds, but they did so in order to magnify and transmit those deeds to that chivalric audience. Women have often been considered as an additional audience for chivalric deeds, their gaze and enthusiasm spurring the knights on to ever greater deeds. Louise Wilkinson argues that this traditional view of passive and marginalised women on the fringes of chivalric society is outmoded, and that the evidence shows women to be active participants in chivalric and aristocratic culture. She shows that chivalry provided a moral framework that allowed women to be treated with dignity, whilst its fusion with nobility and courtly culture opened the way for them to engage with chivalric culture.

Given the influence and role of women within medieval chivalry, it is perhaps disappointing that the modern understanding of the term has become so centred on masculinity. Tied to the question of gender rights, our view of what is 'chivalric' tends to be one very much out of the romance literature in combination with a Victorian moral stiffness. This is no surprise as our understanding of chivalry is coloured by the revival of the concept in the eighteenth century. Clare Simmons' chapter on chivalric medievalism charts the resurgence of interest in things chivalric in the late eighteenth century. She notes the failure to differentiate between the romance literature and the historical reality that led to a focus on the ritualistic elements of chivalry – its tournaments and fraternities – and on women as passive recipients of chivalric attention. She also notes the appearance of an increasingly masculine and muscular chivalry in the nineteenth century, which continues to this day, lending a rather ugly undercurrent of misogyny and racism to the use of the term by the political right; one that academics have been increasingly vocal about challenging in the mainstream media.[2]

As the contributions to this volume show, the study of chivalry is a debated and contested field, not least because the phenomenon itself is full of contradictions. Thus, although we can reach a high level of understanding of its parameters and constituents, chivalry is elusive of easy definition. The volume cannot be said to be exhaustive or definitive. At the very least, however, we hope to have shed new light on the subject and to have enhanced collective understanding. We hope, too, that the book will inspire further study and research.

[2] See for example Dorothy Kim, 'What's with Nazis and Knights?' (https://www.huffpost.com/entry/whats-with-nazis-and-knights_b_59c0b469e4b082fd4205b98d, accessed 30/5/19) or Jennifer Schuessler's article, 'Medieval Scholars Joust with White Nationalists. And One Another.' (https://www.nytimes.com/2019/05/05/arts/the-battle-for-medieval-studies-white supremacy.html, accessed 30/5/19)

1

The Origins and Diffusion of Chivalry

PETER COSS

What is Chivalry?

Historians have been reluctant to offer one-line definitions of chivalry. In introducing his masterpiece, Maurice Keen, for example, called it 'a word elusive of definition.'[1] Instead he either describes it genetically as an 'ethos', a 'code of values' or a 'way of life', or expresses himself elliptically: 'Chivalry cannot be divorced from the martial world of the mounted warrior: it cannot be divorced from aristocracy, because knights commonly were men of lineage: and from the middle of the twelfth century it very frequently carries ethical or religious overtones.' The reluctance to define is to be explained, in part at least, by conceptual slippage within the sources themselves. The meaning changed according to writer, time and context. Its earliest uses, however, seem to have been to denote a company of knights (*chevaliers*) and to describe the specific skills and training that they exhibited.[2] It is important to say at the outset that the existence of chivalry (*chevalerie*) was predicated upon that of the knight: no knighthood, no chivalry.

The rise of the knight (*miles* in the Latin sources) has been carefully tracked by historians. Warrior society in the eleventh century, as Jean Flori tells us, had two powerful arms: the immobile (the castle) and the mobile (the knight).[3] This mobility was the all-important factor in military terms. It explains the evolution that the word *miles* underwent. Originally it meant no more than soldier. It also carried service connotations and could be used to denote vassal. However, in the eleventh century it came to be used in preference to designate a mounted warrior and to replace *equites* (used in contradistinction to *pedites*,

[1] M. Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven and London, 1984), p. 1.

[2] J. Flori, 'La notion de chevalerie dans les chansons de geste du XIIe siècle. Étude historique du vocabulaire', *Le Moyen Age* 81 (1975), pp. 211–44, and 407–43.

[3] For this and for what follows, see J. Flori, 'Knightly Society', in *The New Cambridge Medieval History IV Part I*, ed. D. Luscombe and J. Riley-Smith (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 148–84. For a broad discussion of knightly warfare see R. W. Jones, *Knight: The Warrior and the World of Chivalry* (Oxford, 2011).

that is, footsoldiers). By the middle of the eleventh century such *milites* were deployed increasingly as castle garrisons, in battles (a relatively rare phenomenon) and more frequently for armed raids. The *milites* were becoming a professional elite. This was greatly aided by technical developments. These are well known. Of major importance were stirrups and the high-backed saddle, vital for stability and balance, especially when it came to using the lance and the sword. This enabled the powerful cavalry charge with couched lance followed by the *mêlée* described so often and so vividly in the epic *chansons de geste* (songs of deeds). The introduction of this shock combat from compact squadrons has been described as the medieval equivalent of the modern tank. Stronger forms of defence were developed, particularly coats of mail. There were two further developments. One was the requirement for stronger horses, which increased the cost of equipping the mounted warrior. The other was the need for rigorous training. Tempting though it is, scholars have tended to move away from the technical determinism once advocated by Lynne White junior and others.[4] For one thing the stirrup and the high-backed saddle were known in Europe much earlier than the eleventh century, well before the rise of the *milites*. Moreover, in the mid eleventh century by no means everyone fought in this way. The Anglo-Saxons, for example, dismounted to fight at Hastings and the Norman cavalry are depicted in the Bayeux Tapestry using lances or javelins in a variety of ways. Nonetheless the cavalry charge was certainly used and the evidence, both iconographical and literary, indicates that the shock combat was the dominant cavalry tactic by the end of the eleventh century. Its brutal and startling effects were famously described by the Greek princess Anna Comnena, who witnessed crusaders at Constantinople.[5] The cost of equipping these knights had the effect of further separating them from the infantry. Knights, therefore, were dependent upon having an aristocratic income, being maintained in some way by their lords or serving as mercenaries.

Historians are very much aware, however, that there were ethical dimensions to chivalry, and this is where differences of interpretation are principally generated. Given that chivalry was an ethos and a way of life, what were its specific characteristics? What was central and what was contingent or peripheral? Nigel Saul, one of the few historians to hazard a definition, has called chivalry 'the value system and behavioural code of the secular aristocracy of the Middle Ages'.[6] This, in my view, is unassailable, but it leaves a lot of room for contention, and not only over content. We need to know where these values came from and

[4] For the thesis see L. White, *Medieval Technology and Social Change* (Oxford, 1962) and for a critique B. S. Bachrach, 'Charles Martel, Shock Combat, the Stirrup and Feudalism', *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 7 (1970), pp. 45–75.

[5] Anna Comnena, *The Alexiad*, trans. E. A. S. Davies (London, 1928), pp. 122–3.

[6] N. Saul, *For Honour and Fame: Chivalry in England 1066–1500* (London, 2011), p. viii.

how this behavioural code was governed. Chivalry, in popular tradition, and for a long time among professional observers, was seen through the eyes of Léon Gautier, whose classic work, *La Chevalerie*, was first published in 1884.[7] For Gautier, recently described as 'a grand romantic interpreter', chivalry was an ideal, perceived by him with almost mystic intensity and as an elaborate code.[8] From the 1940s onwards historians have progressively moved away from 'chevalerie à la Gautier', demystifyng chivalry – even though Jean Flori has described its expression in the late twelfth century as 'almost spellbinding' – and to some degree decodifying it, preferring to understand chivalry diachronically rather than synchronically.[9] Consequently the origins and diffusion of chivalry have become at least as important as its definition in assessing its meaning and historical significance.

In this essay I will look in turn at Anglophone and Francophone historiography of chivalry up to the mid twelfth century. Although they certainly interact, there is enough that is distinctive in the two traditions to warrant separate treatment. I will then examine the maturation of chivalry between the mid twelfth and early thirteenth centuries before turning to the issue of diffusion.

Anglophone Historiography and the Secular Origins of Chivalry

An important work within the Anglophone tradition is the concise, incisive and thought-provoking book by Sidney Painter, first published as long ago as 1940 and much read over the years.[10] It can still be turned to with profit, despite the considerable increase in knowledge and shifts in understanding that have taken place in myriad areas during the intervening years. For Painter chivalry simply 'denotes the ideals and practices considered suitable for a noble'.[11] His chivalry is predicated upon the monopoly that the aristocracy achieved in 'the military profession', a monopoly that was both tactical and socio-economic. Although they were the products of a long-standing warrior tradition, it was the private warfare of the tenth and eleventh centuries that had honed their skills. The aristocracy of this period were 'military entrepreneurs'.

[7] L. Gautier, *La Chevalerie* (Paris, 1884). A condensed version was edited by J. Levron and translated by D. C. Dunning as *Chivalry* (New York, 1965).

[8] R. W. Kaeuper, *Medieval Chivalry* (Cambridge, 2016), p. 12.

[9] J. Flori, *L'Essor de la Chevalerie, XIe–XIIe siècles* (Geneva, 1986), p. 341. For *chevalerie à la Gautier* see J. du Quesnay, 'Modern Views of Medieval Chivalry, 1884–1984', in *The Study of Chivalry: Resources and Approaches*, ed. H. Chickering and T. H. Seiler (Kalamazoo, 1988), p. 41.

[10] S. Painter, *French Chivalry: Chivalric Ideas and Practices in Mediaeval France* (Baltimore, 1940, repr. Ithaca, 1957).

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 1.

The organisational principle of Painter's book is a threefold division: between what he calls 'feudal chivalry', 'religious chivalry' and 'courtly love'. The latter two were 'ethical ideas which outside groups, the clergy and the ladies, attempted to impose on the feudal warriors of France'.[12] By contrast 'feudal chivalry' grew out of their cultural tradition and actual function in society. In short its values constituted the core of chivalry. Of what, then, did Painter's feudal chivalry comprise? First and foremost is prowess: a combination of personal bravery, physical strength and skill in arms. This is followed by loyalty and largesse. Next comes courtesy, with a variety of connotations from politeness in conversation and in social relations to the specific consideration given to fellow aristocrats to ameliorate the effects of war. This is given much attention in the *chansons de geste.* A knight should not kill an unarmed foe, two knights should not attack one, and knightly prisoners should be held with dignity, released on parole and ransomed in accordance with their means. At the same time a knight should be seeking prestige, that is to say glory, by proper means. This might well include success in the tournament, the highly developed training for war that arose in the eleventh century and became increasingly popular in the twelfth. But it was not only military training in the narrow sense that empowered the tournament. As Painter insists, the twelfth-century tournament was 'a fertile breeding ground for the courteous practice of chivalry'.[13] Finally he moves to the relationship between the world of literature and social reality. Were these ideals actually practised? In order to answer this he turns to the Norman chronicler Orderic Vitalis and to the early thirteenth-century life of William the Marshal (*Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal*) which looks back over the long and successful career of arguably the greatest knight of the later twelfth century. The answer appears to be, in large measure, yes. Moreover, Painter is able to show how the tenets of 'feudal chivalry' and the 'class consciousness' that it reflects lie at the core of chivalry throughout its later history.

If the study of chivalry lay a little dormant in Anglophone historiography after Sidney Painter it was soon revived. The key figure in this was Maurice Keen whose great work *Chivalry* (first published in 1984) was, and remains, a landmark study and an inspiration to others. There are multiple reasons for this. They include a depth and breadth of knowledge of the source material which is truly breathtaking and an international approach and enviable mastery of historiography. There is hardly an aspect of the subject which Keen's book and its anterior essays did not illuminate. A strong feature of his work is its chronological range. In particular he put the chivalric culture of the later middle ages firmly in the frame. This and the military vocation in the age of the Hundred Years War, he explained, were his principal historical interests. In following these interests he

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 28.
[13] *Ibid.*, p. 49.

demolished Jan Huizinga's interpretation which saw the later middle ages as a time of chivalric decline.[14] The concept of military vocation is the key to Keen's understanding of chivalry. Like Painter before him, Keen put this at the heart of chivalry but in a more subtle way. He defined chivalry as 'an ethos in which martial, aristocratic and Christian elements were fused together'. Whilst not denying the significance of clerical learning or the impact of the crusades, he was nonetheless certain that chivalry was essentially 'a mode of living' within which secular values supplied the hard core. While he appreciated that knightly piety was more than a veneer and though he understood the range of ideas that penetrated it, he was certain that chivalry was fundamentally 'the secular code of honour of a martially-orientated society'.

Painter's standpoint, reinforced by Keen, has continued to be championed by British historians. The fullest statement is by Matthew Strickland in a work published in 1996, reflecting also the reconstituted military history which is now a prominent feature of Anglophone historiography.[15] He contends that the study of the *mentalité* of the warrior elite must be centred on war itself, given that this was its *raison d'être*, and that the historian of chivalry needs to concentrate on the conventions that governed its behaviour in the field. For Strickland the essence of knighthood lay in its function. The great lords adopted the style *miles* not as an expression of rank or wealth but because they themselves participated in a shared function as elite mounted warriors. Strickland concedes that the basic values of chivalry are those shared by warrior elites in general and, more particularly, that the great lords and their military followers had shared customs and usage in combat as early as the ninth century.[16] Nonetheless there were specific features, derived for the most part from French culture, which were peculiar to the later eleventh and twelfth centuries. Chief of these was a new attitude towards defeated opponents and the replacement of death by ransom, that is to say a new and more respectful attitude towards fellow knights. As far as England is concerned, the crucial divide is the Norman Conquest, a subject which Strickland pursued in greater detail in an earlier study.[17] The same argument was put

[14] J. Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (London, 1927).

[15] M. Strickland, *War and Chivalry: The Conduct and Perception of War in England and Normandy, 1066–1217* (Cambridge, 1996).

[16] Citing here J. Nelson, 'Ninth-Century Knighthood: the Evidence of Nithard', in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to R. A. Brown*, ed. C. Harper-Bill *et al.* (Woodbridge, 1989), pp. 255–66, and K. Leyser, 'Early Medieval Canon Law and the Beginnings of Knighthood', in *Communications and Power in Medieval Europe. The Carolingian and Ottonian Centuries*, ed. T. Reuter (London, 1994), pp. 51–72. See also D. Barthélemy, *The Serf, the Knight and the Historian* (Ithaca, 2009), ch. 6, 'Carolingian Knighthood'.

[17] M. Strickland, 'Slaughter, Slavery or Ransom? The Impact of the Conquest on Conduct in Warfare', in *England in the Eleventh Century. Proceedings of the 1990 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. C. Hicks (Stamford, 1992), pp. 41–59.

by John Gillingham in a famous essay of 1994.[18] Gillingham, however, shows that this shift had occurred in Normandy well before the Conquest and therefore, by implication, reflected a more widespread change in aristocratic *mores*. Death in battle was less likely now to descend into blood feud. For him 'the compassionate treatment of defeated high-status enemies is a defining characteristic of chivalry'.[19] What was different from the more basic values of a warrior elite was a sense of honour which linked men who shared the qualities of courage, prowess, loyalty and largesse. This interpretation has also been followed by Nigel Saul in his study of chivalry in England: the Norman Conquest brought with it 'a new code of honour and a more humane set of values governing the conduct of war'. For him this new way of conducting war amounted to 'a medieval proto-version of the modern Geneva Convention'.[20]

The need for rigorous training in the use of weapons, in tactics and collective discipline goes a long way to explaining the rise of the tournament at around the same time. David Crouch has brought together the available source material for the early history of the tournament.[21] The evidence for the 1120s is clear enough. Galbert of Bruges, writing of Charles the Good, count of Flanders (1119–27), tells of how he travelled in a company of 200 knights to fight in tournaments. He did this 'for the honour of his land and to train his knights'. There is other, contemporary, evidence to support this. His predecessor, Count Baldwin VII (1111–19) seems to have done the same, dying from a blow he received whilst playing military games.[22] The word tournament comes from the verb *tourner*, meaning to whirl, and appears to be a neologism of around that time, suggesting that it was used to distinguish the event from older types of war game and military exercise.[23] The first papal condemnation of tournaments came at a council at Clermont in 1130 and was repeated at Reims in 1131. The ground becomes shaky, however, when it comes to evidence for tournaments in the eleventh century. We have to beware when twelfth-century writers project them back in time.[24] It

[18] J. Gillingham, '1066 and the Introduction of Chivalry in England', in *Law and Government in Medieval England and Normandy: Essays in Honour of Sir James Holt*, ed. G. Garnett and J. Hudson (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 31–53. See also his 'Conquering the Barbarians: War and Chivalry in Twelfth-Century Britain', *Haskins Society Journal* IV (1983).

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 32.

[20] Saul, *For Honour and Fame*. The quotations are from p. 8.

[21] D. Crouch, *Tournament* (London and New York, 2005). See also R. Barber and J. R. V. Barker, *Tournaments: Jousts, Chivalry and Pageants in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 1989) and Barker's important study, *The Tournament in England, 1100–1400* (Woodbridge, 1986).

[22] Crouch, *Tournament*, pp. 2–3. There is also a reference to the possibility of holding tournaments and other games at Valenciennes in 1114.

[23] This suggestion comes from M. Parisse, 'Le tournoi en France, des origines à la fin du XIIIe siècle', in *Das ritterliche Turnier in Mittelalter: Beitrage zu einer vergleichenden Formenund verhallengeschichte des Rittertum*, ed. J. Fleckenstein (Göttingen, 1985).

[24] See Barker, *Tournament*, p. 5.

may well be that there were tournament circuits by the 1080s. When it comes to the first half of the eleventh century, however, the ground becomes shakier still. Crouch would fain see the tournament as a by-product of the peace councils of the 1020s and 1030s, but admits that there is no direct evidence. The problem is that military exercises and war games as preparatory activity must have had a long history, and other forms of recreational games probably preceded the tournament proper, that is to say a mock battle initiated by a head-on collision between two forces with couched lances followed by hand-to-hand combat: the famous *mêlée*. The tournament is thus dependent upon the development of shock tactics and the need to train for them. This technique cannot be evidenced far back into the eleventh century as the Bayeux Tapestry, where the mounted troops are depicted using their lances in a variety of ways, tends to show.

Crouch assembles evidence to suggest that the tournament originated in the western marches of the Empire and north-east France. Its earliest appearances are in Brabant, Hainault, Flanders, Picardy and the northern marches of Normandy. It appears, therefore, in frontier areas where princely authority is not strong. By the reign of Stephen (1135–54) it was found in England and perhaps earlier, although according to William of Newburgh, Henry I (1130–35) had banned it. By the 1160s tournaments were being held on the borders of Anjou and Brittany, with knights from Poitou participating. From here the tournament spread further south and across the Pyrenees. Louis VI of France (1108–37) was hostile as was Henry II (1154–89) of England. By the middle of the twelfth century tournaments were spreading across the German Empire. In short, the first tournaments may well have taken place in the late eleventh century, but it was in the early decades of the twelfth that they became seriously popular. It is also clear that they were decidedly aristocratic. Charles the Good of Flanders was an early patron. In both France and Anglo-Norman England members of the high aristocracy were heavily involved. One of the latter was David, earl of Huntingdon and later king of Scotland. One of his household knights was Osbert of Arden, a younger son of Siward of Arden who died in 1138–39.[25] Siward was one of those men known to historians as honorial barons, the highest level of aristocrat in England below the earls and major tenants-in-chief of the crown. A surviving charter of Osbert from Stephen's reign grants a carucate of land to one Thurchil Fundus, who was probably a relative, in return for a very specific service. This was to carry Osbert's painted lances at the knight's expense from London or Northampton to his house at Kingsbury in Warwickshire, and to go overseas with him when required. Thurchil, in essence, was to act as Osbert's squire.[26] Osbert no doubt owed his passion for the tournament to the earl of

[25] Crouch, *Tournament*, p. 41.

[26] *Ibid.*, pp. 20, 40–1. A translation of the charter (BL Cotton xxii,3) is given as appendix 1 of that work. For the Arden family and the local context of the grant see P. R. Coss, *Lordship,*

Huntingdon, in whose company he had probably fought. The charter is an indication that tournaments were frequented not only by the highest aristocrats and their retinues but also by members of families who were one notch down from the earls and major tenants-in-chief. As is often said, the companionship and team spirit engendered by the tournament must have had the effect of reinforcing an *esprit de corps* among knights, irrespective of social differences. The rules and customs that determined the conduct of tournaments seem to have applied in battle. Orderic Vitalis tells us that only three knights died at the Battle of Brémule in 1119. This was partly because of the protection they wore, but also 'because, as they did not thirst after the blood of their brothers-in-arms, they spared each other, straining to capture but not to kill those who fled'.[27] There was also the possibility of success in the tournament leading to social advancement, a skilled performer being noticed, for example, by a powerful patron.

Maurice Keen concluded his discussion of early chivalry with an extract from the Provençal epic of *Girart*, written in the mid twelfth century. It is well worth repeating here:

> Folcon was in the battle lines, with a fine hauberk, seated on an excellently trained horse, swift and fiery and tested. And he was most graciously armed … And when the king saw him he stopped, and went to join the Count of Auvergne, and said to the French: 'Lords, look at the best knight that you have ever seen … He is brave and courtly and skilful, and noble and of good lineage and eloquent, handsomely experienced in hunting and falconry; he knows how to play chess and backgammon, gaming and dicing. And his wealth was never denied to any, but each has as much as he wants … And he has never been slow to perform honourable deeds. He dearly loves God and the Trinity. And since the day he was born he has never entered a court of law where any wrong was done or discussed without grieving if he could do nothing about it … And he always loved a good knight; he has honoured the poor and lowly; and he judges each according to his worth.'[28]

If this is a sure guide, adds Keen, 'then it is as an essentially secular figure that the chivalrous knight steps onto the stage of history'.[29]

Knighthood and Locality: A Study in English Society, c.1180–c.1280 (Cambridge, 1991), ch. 8.

[27] Flori, 'Knightly Society', p. 175.

[28] Quoting L. Paterson, 'Knights and the Concept of Knighthood in the Twelfth-century Occitan Epic', *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 17 (1981), pp. 115–30.

[29] Keen, *Chivalry*, p. 76.

Francophone Historiography and its Impact

Just as the publication of Painter's book in 1940 and Keen's in 1984 marked important stages in the development of the Anglophone historiography of chivalry, so those of Georges Duby and Jean Flori of 1953 and 1986 respectively made a major impact within Francophone studies. In the Francophone world chivalry has been approached on a broader plane. In many ways modern study of the subject begins with Georges Duby whose great thesis on the society of the Mâconnais of 1953 drew its inspiration from Marc Bloch's monumental *Feudal Society* and from contemporary debates on the nature and history of nobility.[30] Duby's understanding of chivalry had, as we will see, both structural and ideological components. An important ingredient of his thesis was the social rise of the *milites* across the eleventh century. Sharing a lifestyle with the castellans, they formed together a distinct caste which was differentiated from 'rustics', whether these were low-born officials or peasants. Originally open to access from below, the *milites* tended to close themselves off as they were increasingly assimilated into the nobility. Nonetheless this caste remained divided into two levels: the mere *milites* on the one hand and above them the castellans, the 'sires', to whom was reserved the title *dominus*. All, however, were warriors with sufficient resources to carry out their role. What distinguished them was the ritual of *adoubement* or dubbing, even though at this stage it was a very simple ceremony. Consequently, from early in the eleventh century, the words *miles* and *nobilis* became interchangeable, with *miles* prevailing in the sources from 1030 onwards. Other studies tend to indicate that Duby's Mâconnais was in the van here, though closely followed by Catalonia and Provence, but that in the north the nobility remained distinct from simple knights for some considerable time.[31] In 1972, therefore, Duby revised his thesis, putting less emphasis on the adoption of knighthood and more on the development of new and shared attitudes within the aristocracy towards family solidarity, involving the privileging of the rights of sons to the detriment of daughters and of the eldest over younger sons, that is to say primogeniture; in other words, he put the accent on the lineage.[32]

[30] G. Duby, *La société aux XIe et XIIe siècles dans la région mâconnaise* (Paris, 1953); M. Bloch, *La société féodale,* 5th edn (Paris, 1968) – English translation by L. A. Manyon, 2 vols (London, 1961–62). There is an excellent discussion of the debate on nobility in France in the context of chivalry in Flori, *L'Essor de la Chevalerie,* ch. 1. Another major influence was P. Guilhiermoz, *Essai sur l'origine de la noblesse en France au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1902).

[31] P. Bonnassie, *La Catalogne du milieu du Xe à la fine du XIe siècle: croissance et mutation d'une société,* 2 vols (Toulouse, 1975–76); Jean-Pierre Poly, *La Provence et la société féodale (879–1166), Contribution à l'étude des structures dites féodales dans le Midi* (Paris, 1976).

[32] G. Duby, 'Lignage, noblesse et chevalerie au XIIe siècle dans la région mâconnaise. Une Revision', *Annales E.S.C.* (1972), pp. 803–23.

Meanwhile, in a steady output of finely tuned essays he continued to broaden the scope of his work.[33] On the ideological side he stressed the Peace of God which, he argued, played an important role in diffusing the title knight (or *chevalier*), inculcated an ethical code and contributed to the formation of chivalry. The Church proceeded to canalise knightly violence by means of the concept of *milites Christi* and the crusade.[34] During the twelfth century as chivalric ideology grew stronger, the distance between the two levels of knighthood attenuated so that by the later twelfth and early thirteenth centuries the distinction had disappeared, creating a more homogeneous nobility centring on the ideology of chivalry. The more elaborate knighting ceremony that developed at this time played a prominent role in this process of fusion. In another famous essay Duby stressed the role of aristocratic youth (the *iuvenes*) in diffusing aristocratic ideas and practices.[35] After the knighting ceremony, young aristocrats formed loose companies which led a turbulent and errant life, a notable component of which was the tournament. The phenomenon was to be explained, he argued, by the power of the fathers, who managed the patrimonies and controlled access to marriageable women, forcing the cadets, who were without hope of inheritance, to pursue a quest for glory and hence a wife endowed with land.

In the rise of the knight, political and socio-political factors were as important as technological ones. Although there has been much debate on the issue it seems undeniable that the eleventh century saw an increased militarisation of society. This is intrinsically connected with the fragmentation of authority in the post-Carolingian world. In some areas this devolution began during the years 980–1030; in others it was a continuing process during the eleventh century and beyond; while in yet others it was slow to take effect. The devolution of armed power and justice into the hands of castellans, which happened earlier and more profoundly in the south than in the north, had major historical consequences. One of those, arguably, was chivalry. Two increasingly prominent features of the society that evolved were the castle and companies of knights or *milites*. These knights were of two kinds: the noble and the ordinary. The noble knight was the one who was made a knight when he ritually received the sword as the sign of his public authority. At the beginning of the century he was normally a prince; by the end of the century he was very often a castellan. The ordinary *milites* were

[33] Many of these were collected in G. Duby, *Hommes et structures du Moyen Age* (Paris, 1973), and in G. Duby, *The Chivalrous Society*, trans. C. Postan (London, 1977).

[34] G. Duby, 'Les laïcs et la paix de Dieu', in *I Laici nella società christiana dei secoli XI e XII, Atti della terza settimana internationale di studio della Mendola, 1965* (Milan, 1968), and 'Histoire et sociologie de l'occident médiéval: résultats et recherches', *Revue Roumaine d'histoire* III (1970).

[35] G. Duby, 'Les "jeunes" dans la société aristocratique dans la France du nord-ouest au XIIe siècle', *Annales E.S.C.* (1964), republished as 'Youth in Aristocratic Society', in Duby, *Chivalrous Society*.

under the command of those holding privatised public power. They were, in short, the armed fist on which power relied. As a result they escaped the power of the ban, the exercise of privatised public authority, and could begin their long and gradual social ascent. Many of them seem to have come from substantial peasant stock.[36]

Notwithstanding warrior status and the tournament, the degree of knightly cohesion that resulted should not be overstated. The differences between wealthy aristocratic knights on the one hand and household knights, for example, on the other must have been all too apparent. Knights were maintained in many ways, including holding lands as fiefs. Many others were poorly endowed or even landless. Something of the situation in the late eleventh century in England is revealed by Domesday Book (1087). In 1970 in a stimulating and wide-ranging essay, much influenced by Francophone scholarship, Sally Harvey revisited the issue of the *miles* in Domesday Book with some startling results.[37] The nearly 500 entries which record the size of the holdings held by men described as *milites* reveal, she tells us, that the normal landed basis of the eleventh-century knight was about 1½ hides, which 'puts him just above the well-to-do peasants'.[38] These, largely unnamed, *milites* in Domesday Book were clearly different from the holders of manors, both tenants-in-chief and sub-tenants, which Domesday Book is so concerned to record. Although entries do not normally give the title to the manorial lords listed, there are just a few occasions on which it does appear: we find Robert, count of Eu, and William de Braose and Hugh de Montfort, both very substantial men, as well as two sheriffs, described as knights. These were far removed from the simple *miles*. Harvey's interpretation proved controversial and the evidence has to be treated with caution.[39] It is clear from the post-Domesday surveys from ecclesiastical estates, however, that the endowment of their knights was very variable, some holding substantial property and others relatively little, some holding whole knights' fees and others only fractions. In whatever way we

[36] This interpretation has been questioned by D. Barthélemy in *La mutation de l'an mil a-t-elle eu lieu? Servage et chevalerie dans la France des Xe et XIe siècles* (Paris, 1997), translated as *The Serf, The Knight and the Historian*. See also A. Barbero, *L'aristocrazia nella società francese del medioevo. Annalisi delle fonti letterarie secoli X–XIII* (Bologna, 1987). However conceived, this warrior society was also responsible for the west European expansion that began in the eleventh century: the push to the east, the *Reconquista* in Spain, the Normans in Sicily, and at the close of the century the beginnings of the crusades to the Holy Land.

[37] S. Harvey, 'The Knight and the Knight's Fee in England', *Past and Present* 49 (Nov. 1970), reprinted in *Peasants, Knights and Heretics*, ed. R. H. Hilton (Cambridge, 1976). Page references are to the latter.

[38] *Ibid.,* p. 145.

[39] See, in particular, D. F. Fleming, 'Landholding by *Milites* in Domesday Book: A Revision', in *Anglo-Norman Studies* XIII, ed. M. Chibnall (Woodbridge, 1991), pp. 83–98.

interpret the evidence, Domesday Book and near contemporary sources indicate the existence of different levels of *milites*.

This is supported by contemporary and near contemporary chronicles. From the late eleventh century to the mid twelfth, that is to say from the chronicle of William de Poitiers to the *Gesta Stephani* of Stephen's reign, we hear of rustic knights. The former has Duke William giving instructions before the invasion, first of all to his compeers, then to the 'middling noble knights' (*milites mediae nobilitatis*) and finally to 'common knights' (*milites gregarios*). On three occasions the *Gesta Stephani* talks of knights who are *gregarii* or *rustici* fighting alongside mercenaries (*milites stipendarii*), and on other occasions of 'finely-equipped' or 'highly-equipped' knights.[40] These then are the two levels of knighthood.

In his study of the Mâconnais, Duby observed the interchangeability by the early twelfth century of the words 'noble' and 'knight', with an increasing preference for use of the latter. Moreover, he envisaged entry into the nobility as being occasioned by dubbing to knighthood. It may well be that this occurred more widely in regions of the south. This thesis, however, has not received broad acceptance. For one thing, even in the south birth was more important than knighthood in conferring high status. The fact that the lay nobility fought on horseback at the head of their own troops of knights does not mean that knighthood itself brought high status. A gulf remained.

Duby's work was taken further in important respects by his pupil Jean Flori, another major historian of chivalry. Through the 1970s and 1980s a series of essays by Flori made significant contributions to the early history of chivalry and to the understanding of *adoubement* and the knighting ceremony in particular. A very significant book followed in 1986 which subjected the issue to detailed analysis.[41] Flori left his readers in no doubt that the ceremony derived from the formal delivery of arms to rulers at the time of their anointing or at the point at which they begin to exercise their function. It recognised the right to govern: to wield power, to give justice, to command and coerce. In France from the late tenth century and through the eleventh these ceased to be regalian matters and passed downwards to princes, dukes and counts and thence to castellans, that is to say to where power actually lay. These men could now claim the role of protector of the Church and of the weak. The delivery of arms (the *remise d'armes*) had another connotation too. This is the conferring of arms by a greater man to a lesser, often to *milites*, sometimes in the context of vassalage. The most famous example is in the Bayeux Tapestry where 'William gave Harold arms' (HIC WILLELM DEDIT HAROLDO ARMA), signifying Harold's subordination and the creation of a bond of trust. Norman sources insist that Harold swore to

[40] Harvey, 'Knight', pp. 158–9.

[41] Flori, *L'Essor de la Chevalerie*. This was preceded by a book on the pre-history of chivalry: *L'idéologie du glaive; préhistoire de la chevalerie* (Geneva, 1983).

advance William's cause in England, to become his man in this specific context. The delivery of arms symbolised a transfer of power.

In the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries *adoubement* seems to have involved little more than the delivery of arms, without a great deal of ceremony. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, looking back from the late 1120s, describes the Conqueror's knighting of his son Henry in plain terms: 'he … dubbade his sunu Henric to ridere'. The Anglo-Norman chronicler Orderic Vitalis, writing a decade later, introduces Archbishop Lanfranc into the proceedings, giving them an ecclesiastical dimension. However, it is the plain delivery of arms that is described. Henry was dressed in a suit of mail, a helmet was put on his head and he was girded with a sword. If this was how a socially significant *adoubement* was described at this time it seems certain that when Orderic mentions other knightings in his own day, whether on or off the field of battle, no lavish ceremony was involved. By the end of the century, in contrast, this simple ceremony had been transformed into an honorific and ostentatious festival of initiation, charged with symbolism and mystique.[42]

Like Duby before him, Flori developed a keen interest in the development of chivalric ideology. Here he concentrates on the role of the Church and its enduring mission to fashion knighthood according to its own programme.[43] He traces its various manifestations and, whilst acknowledging that this mission was in large measure a failure, he argues that the content of the ecclesiastical programmes played an important role in helping the aristocracy to forge its own ideology of chivalric knighthood. As we have seen, modern writers on chivalry – especially those in the Anglophone tradition – have tended to emphasise the secular origins of chivalry. Flori does not deny the force of these arguments but maintains that it was 'the interaction between the ecclesiastical and aristocratic poles' which gave the knight his professional ethics, his social dignity and an ideal with multiple facets.[44] He takes us through the various stages and dimensions of this ecclesiastical programme: the peace movement; the doctrine of the three orders; the invention of the concept of *milites Christi*; the crusades; the new knighthood of St Bernard of Clairvaux; the efforts of those he calls 'theoreticians of chivalry'; and the sacralisation of the knighting ceremony. Much of this ideology was ultimately derived from the public duty and public purpose which had characterised Carolingian kingship and its downward travel through princes

[42] P. Coss, *The Knight in Medieval England, 1100–1400* (Stroud, 1993), p. 53.

[43] Flori devotes two robust chapters to this issue in his *Chevaliers et chevalerie au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1998). See also his chapter in the *New Cambridge Medieval History IV*, ed. Luscombe and Riley-Smith: 'Knightly Society', pp. 148–84.

[44] Flori, *Chevaliers et chevalerie*, p. 8: 'C'est l'interaction de ces pôles, ecclésiastique et aristocratique, qui a donné au *soldat* qu'est d'abord le chevalier une déontologie professionnelle, une dignité sociale et un idéal aux multiples facettes.'

and castellans to the level of the knights: 'the church transferred, from kings to princes and then to knights, that ancient mission to protect churches and the weak (that is the *inermes*: ecclesiastics, widows, orphans and the poor) which would later constitute one of the finest flowerings of the chivalric ideal'.[45] High on the list of concerns was the maintenance of public order. Churchmen devised the doctrine of the three orders whereby society was divided into three divinely ordained sectors: those who preach, those who work and those who fight, each mutually dependent upon one another.[46] The *bellatores* was a generic term comprising those who were armed by profession, but the focus was initially upon kings and those who exercised power and justice on their behalf. Only with the failure of kings to uphold order did the Church focus upon all the warriors, both collectively and individually, who held power on the ground.

Meanwhile, in the south of France churchmen felt the need to intervene themselves, hence the peace assemblies, which began in 975 (at Le Puy) and which proliferated throughout central and southern France in the eleventh century. In assessing the significance of these we must not lose sight of the fact that it was the Church itself which was always likely to be the greatest victim of violence perpetrated by the *milites*. The Peace of God called upon the knights to swear on holy relics to refrain from violence against the unarmed. Violations could lead to excommunication. More ambitious than the Peace of God was the Truce of God which sought to outlaw violence on certain days and during certain periods, covering an increasing number of days in the year. In 1042 the Council of Saint-Gilles-du-Gard brought the Peace and the Truce together and exhorted the *milites*, both *majores* and *minores*, to exercise restraint. It is likely that the effects of all of this were more ideological than practical. Nevertheless, Flori says, 'the institutions of the peace contributed to the shaping of mentalities which were later to become chivalric'.[47] In the north early eleventh-century churchmen, like Adalbero of Laon and Gerald of Cambrai, turned rather to princes and to bishops, many of whom enjoyed comital rights, to step into the breach and maintain order. The Church was itself heavily involved in self-protection in any case, its own troops being describable as *milites ecclesie*. In Rome those lords who supported the popes were known as knights of St Peter (*milites sancti Petri*). This, patently, constituted an ideological promotion. It meant the sacralisation of combat, when directed by the Church. There is an obvious link

[45] Flori, 'Knightly Society', p. 177.

[46] G. Duby, *Les trois ordres ou l'imaginaire du féodalisme* (Paris, 1978), translated by A. Goldhammer as *The Three Orders: Feudal Society Imagined* (Chicago, 1982).

[47] Flori, 'Knightly Society', p. 166. The legislation and its limitations are discussed in Flori, *Chevaliers et chevalerie*, pp. 181–7. For further discussion see *The Peace of God: Social Violence and Religious Response in France around the Year 1000*, ed. T. Head and R. Landes (Ithaca and London, 1992), and T. Head, 'The Development of the Peace of God in Aquitaine (970–1065)', *Speculum* 74 (1999), pp. 656–86.

between this enhanced role and the preaching of the crusade by Urban II in 1095 at a council at Clermont, which was in essence a council of peace. The difference was, of course, that the energies of knights were being directed now not to the maintenance of order but to fighting the infidel. It enhanced the 'ideological valorisation' of warriors in the service of the Church.[48] It marks, perhaps, the beginning of a move within ecclesiastical circles to see the knights positively rather than negatively. It was well known that the Latin word *militia* rhymed with *malicia* (malice), a coupling still used by St Bernard in the mid twelfth century. His idea of true knighthood was confined to the new military orders, his work *In Praise of the New Knighthood* (*De laude novae militiae*) being addressed to the Templars, who were unsurprisingly half-knight, half-monk. Traditional knighthood he saw as engulfed by and, indeed, itself an incitement to sin.

By contrast the contemporary English thinker and statist John of Salisbury argued that knights who served their princes in doing God's work might see themselves as 'saints'. This is indicative of a major ideological shift. The social and political milieux which knights inhabited meant that they were naturally closer to the secular concerns of their rulers than to the precepts of the Church. The Church made further moves to 'institutionalise' knighthood through liturgical components in the 'ceremony' of *adoubement*. In the eleventh century the *ordo* of investiture of an advocate, that is a warrior-defender of a Church, involved blessings and prayers with a clear ethical content. A great deal was to be made later of the knight receiving his sword from the altar in the knighting ceremony, not to mention the all-night vigil which was sometimes a preliminary component. In the last analysis, however, the Church-inspired ideological enhancement of knighthood has to be kept in perspective. Despite the efforts of Gregory VII, Urban II and Bernard of Clairvaux, the Church had limited practical effect on the content of chivalry. In the meantime the qualified impression made by the Church upon knighthood thus far is seen in the vernacular epics known as *chansons de geste*. The predominant theme is warfare, and most are set within history, very largely of the Carolingian era. Though they were probably already being composed in the eleventh century, the earliest extant date from the twelfth century. Among them, and perhaps the earliest, was the *Song of Roland*, which survives in an Oxford manuscript from around 1130. It dimly records the events at Roncesvalles on 15 August 778 when Count Roland of Brittany was killed in an attack on the rearguard of Charlemagne's army as it crossed the Pyrenees on its way back to France. At the centre of the story is vassalage, predominantly the loyalty of a vassal to his lord and the lord's obligation to revenge his dead vassal. The *chansons*, notwithstanding their Christian setting, are permeated with the secular values with which we began this section: prowess, loyalty, generosity and

[48] Flori, *Chevaliers et chevalerie*, p. 196.

so on. It is true that the knights espouse a particularly knightly sense of piety, which the German historian Waas called *Ritterfrömmigkeit*, but this accompanies and by no means displaces the more earthly values that give the text its dynamic.[49] Flori's view here echoes that of Keen, i.e. that the ideology was essentially a secular one 'which sacerdotal teaching could only modify, not transform'.[50]

Before we leave the Francophone scene and the early history of chivalry there is one further scholar who needs to be introduced. It is not surprising that Dominique Barthélemy should have entered the chivalric field. Barthélemy is the epitome of J. H. Round's 'anticataclysmic' historian, that is to say one who champions 'the theory of gradual development and growth' rather seismic change.[51] He made his reputation as the hammer of the 'mutationists', those who promoted the idea of a world-changing feudal revolution centring on France in the years around the turn of the first millennium.[52] In *La chevalerie* (2012)[53] Barthélemy sets out to understand the development of chivalry as a phenomenon that developed within the secular world of the Frankish aristocracy. After examining the roots of the warrior ethic and the values of the Carolingian aristocracy he turns his attention directly to the 'feudal' world.[54] Here he plays down the barbarity of Bloch's first feudal age (880–1060) and stresses the ways in which aristocratic behaviour approximated, on occasions at least, to that of the chivalric age that followed. He finds not only valour and prowess but also clemency and restraint, even in the tenth century, often referred to by historians as the century of iron. Feudal warfare, he concludes, was encoded and measured.[55] He also downplays the explanations for the softening of attitudes offered by English historians. The new phenomenon of ransom, which appeared early in the eleventh century, was certainly made possible, he agrees, by an increased circulation of money and by the development of the castle as a centre for detention, but this was only one of the expressions of a general amelioration of the effects of war

[49] A. Waas, *Geschichte des Kreuzzuges* (Freiburg, 1956), I, pp. 33ff., 41ff. Cited by Keen, *Chivalry,* ch. 3, 'Chivalry, the Church and the Crusade'. For more recent discussions of knightly piety see M. Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade. The Limousin and Gascony, c. 970–1130* (Oxford, 1993), and Strickland, *War and Chivalry,* ch. 3.

[50] Keen, *Chivalry,* pp. 57 and 76.

[51] J. H. Round, 'The Introduction of Knight Service into England', in his *Feudal England: Historical Studies on the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (London, 1895), p. 182. The essay first appeared in *English Historical Review.*

[52] The key work is J-P. Poly and E. Bournazel, *La Mutation féodale, Xe–XIIe siècles* (Paris, 1980), translated by C. Higgit as *The Feudal Transformation 900–1200* (New York and London, 1991). The school is that of Duby.

[53] D. Barthélemy, *La chevalerie* (Paris, 2012), is a revised and augmented version of a book first published in 2007.

[54] In chapter 3, entitled 'Une féodalité sans barbarie'.

[55] Barthélemy, *La chevalerie*, p. 153: 'La guerre féodale ordinaire était, au Xe siècle, assez codée et mesurée'.

which was generated, he believes, within the world of the aristocracy. On the other hand, Barthélemy largely discounts the effects of the Peace of God when it comes to chivalry, on the grounds that it was concerned not with the behaviour of aristocratic warriors towards one another but with their pillaging of peasants, primarily as assets of ecclesiastical lords. Classic chivalry, he concludes, developed out of feudal warfare, not as a result of pressure from the Church. It arose out of class interest rather than moral reform.[56] He, too, downplays the role of the crusades and emphasises that of the tournament in the rise of chivalry. When he turns to the period 1050–1130 and to the refinement of knightly behaviour, he understands it, with conscious irony, as the 'chivalric mutation', to be precise as 'la *mutation chevaleresque* du vassal franc'.[57]

Despite differences of approach, both between and within Anglophone and Francophone historiographies, and the many nuances, most particularly where the question of origins is concerned, there is nevertheless a large measure of agreement as to what constituted chivalry as it had evolved by the mid twelfth century.

Maturation: Chivalry in the Late Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Centuries

As we have seen, some scholars regard chivalry, or its central tenets at least, as fully formed by the mid twelfth century at the latest. Others think in terms of a continuous development through the twelfth century and beyond.[58] Yet others would see a shift from a first phase or proto-chivalry to a mature chivalry beginning around the mid to late twelfth century.[59] Most would see at least an acceleration in its evolution during the course of the twelfth century, although the chronology might vary. As Jean Flori puts it, the approbation of the virtues we have been discussing did not cease after 1150 but 'ceded first place' to more aristocratic values, exalting birth and lineage, nobility, a sense of honour and so

[56] *Ibid.*, pp. 193–4.

[57] *Ibid.*, p. 360.

[58] Important surveys include those of Richard Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry* (London, 1970, revised edn Woodbridge, 1974), C. Brittain Bouchard, *'Strong of Body, Brave and Noble': Chivalry and Society in Medieval France* (New York and London, 1998), Saul, *For Honour and Fame*, and Kaeuper, *Medieval Chivalry*. Saul, following Keen, seeks to redress the historiographical balance by concentrating on the later middle ages. Kaeuper seeks to understand 'how chivalry functioned at the core of medieval society for half a millennium' (*Ibid.*, p. 5). See also his *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe* (Oxford, 1999).

[59] The term 'proto-chivalry' is used by Saul: *For Honour and Fame*, p. 11. For Barthélemy the first phase ends around 1130 (*La chevalerie*, ch. 4).

on.[60] Flori follows Duby in seeing this entire phenomenon in terms of a closing of ranks by the nobility through which knighthood was given new meaning. Mere knights became considered noble and a comprehensive elite mentality was forged, centred on the refinement of manners.

The evidence for this shift is very strong. First we have the world of romance, most specifically the idealised world of Chrétien de Troyes. Chrétien, writing from 1170 to 1183, was not the first but he was undoubtedly the greatest and most influential of the romanciers. He is the giant of twelfth-century vernacular literature, and in keeping with his status he takes us into the heart of chivalric ideology. Chrétien's world was a courtly one. We know little about him. He may have been a canon of Troyes and he may well have spent time at the Plantagenet court, but neither is certain. What we know for sure is what he himself tells us: that he worked under the patronage of Marie, countess of Champagne and daughter of Eleanor of Aquitaine, who urged on him the subject of *Lancelot*, knight of the cart, and the theme of adulterous love, and was later commissioned by Philip of Alsace, Count of Flanders, a great tourneyer, who commissioned his great but sadly unfinished *Perceval*, the knight of the grail. It is significant in terms of the setting of his romances that he wrote not for kings and great princes but for members of the high aristocracy. As is well known, his knights errant travel away from Arthur's court in search of their destiny. The king is not so much an actor as an enabler. The great knights are largely autonomous in their actions, untrammelled, and not bridled by superior powers. The zones of romance adventure are either on frontiers or away from areas of strongly exercised princely power. Nonetheless they breathe the air of the court.[61] When we enter the world of romance we seem to be entering a different world from that of the *chansons de geste*. We need to be careful how we interpret this. As Barthélemy has reminded us, these worlds are not strictly antitheses.[62] They are both dominated by martial concerns. Prowess, loyalty, generosity and courtesy towards other knights figure prominently in both. The romances do not displace the *chansons*, which continue to be written alongside romances during the second half of the century. But the themes are markedly different. Vengeance and feudal (or feudo-vassallic) relations play a less prominent role in romance. What is elevated is, of course, the theme of love, of *amor cortois*. Love did not arrive in literature with romance. The early *chansons* talk of the love between lord and vassal, love between family

[60] Flori, 'Knightly Society', p. 182.

[61] For the historical treatment of court values and behaviour see especially C. S. Jaeger, *The Origins of Courtliness: Civilizing Trends and the Formation of Courtly Ideals, 939–1210* (Philadelphia, 1985), and his 'Courtliness and Social Change', in *Cultures of Power*, ed. Thomas N. Bisson (Philadelphia, 1995).

[62] Barthélemy, *La chevalerie*, p. 446.

members and, perhaps above all, love between warriors.[63] Not to mention, of course, the love of God. Warrior love is certainly present in the works of Chrétien: the love between Yvain and Gawain for instance. Romance love, however, is different from the love of other genres. It is characterised not only by its intensity of feeling but by the examination, exploration and idealisation of that intensity. The love theme of the romances, it has been generally agreed, is ultimately derived from the troubadours of southern France who exalted the effects that love has upon the prowess of the knight. The romances of Chrétien explore the world of feeling, of interaction between man and woman, or rather lord and lady, and the tensions that can arise around the issues of love and marriage. The heroes Erec and Yvain, in their respective romances, win their brides through a mixture of prowess and refined manners. The world that is depicted is one of youth, of ambition and of fine feeling. Georges Duby famously connected the bride-seeking in particular with the aspirations of the young aristocratic men whose presence was a characteristic feature of contemporary courts.

Far from being a reflection of contemporary society and its *mores*, however, the romances are strongly ideological and the ideology can be seen in what is not said as much as in what is said. Yvain's quest, for example, if stripped of its refinement, frankly involves the killing of a wealthy knight, marriage to his bride and the defence of her lands. In short, Yvain's expression of his knightly zest, initiative and autonomy leads to the conquest of a much sought-after marriage and land, at the expense of another Christian lord who has done him no wrong. The central theme, dominating the action, is the sublimation of love – even, in the case of Lancelot, in its adulterous form. High on the list of knightly qualities is the delicate treatment of ladies and fighting for their interests and honour. This is one expression of refined behaviour. We hear much of polite conversation, of good manners, of hospitality, of joyous entertainment, of sociability and liberality. These people are elegant. We are introduced to the figure of the great host, the poor but courteous *vavasseur*. We hear much of honour in personal dealings, involving not only mercy to the vanquished knight, but also safe conduct, keeping one's word, of reputation for generous behaviour and repulsion when faced with its antithesis. We are introduced to the paradigmatic King Bademagu, for whom reputation as a *prud'homme,* a man of honour, counts more than the interests of his own wayward son. We are drawn to appreciate the involvement of the ladies in the chivalric world: not only their longing for the love of a great knight who has proved his valour, but their enthusiasm for the tournament where as spectators they relish the identification of the most accomplished practitioners. The ideological content rises into full view again here, for the tournaments as depicted involve neither death nor money. They are about prowess not ransom.

[63] For a discussion of these themes see Kaeuper, *Medieval Chivalry*, ch. 10, 'Love and Amity, Men and Women'. See also Stephen Jaeger, *Ennobling Love: In Search of a Lost Sensibility* (Philadelphia, 1999).

In the words of Barthélemy, they are festivals not fairs (*fêtes* not *foires*). In the last analysis, and notwithstanding the exploration of feeling and the depiction of female involvement in chivalric culture, the romances are decidedly man-centred. In short, whatever the stated cause, in the last analysis the heroes fight for their own reputation: they are, frankly, narcissistic.[64]

The romances, and those of Chrétien in particular, have traditionally been interpreted in terms of the refinement of manners, and this continues to have validity. It chimes well with a new historical interest, that is, the history of emotions.[65] Richard Kaeuper has reviewed the issue in relation to romance.[66] The display of emotion has, naturally, a purposeful performance element and a tendency to conform to social norms, at the same time as unlocking deep (or sometimes shallow) feeling. Kaeuper finds in knighthood 'a significant emotional community' with its own emotional programme, that is to say they enjoyed a 'self-valorizing ideology' which 'entitled them to effective use and display of emotions as a language of power'.[67] This expression marked out the chivalric elite from the rest of society. From wherever we look the romances are socially exclusive. Peasants are largely airbrushed out. When they do occur they are treated with contempt, as are merchants and tradesmen. Chivalry is strictly for the refined.

Then we have the evidence of the knighting ceremony. By the latter part of the twelfth century what had once been a fairly simple act had been transformed. The first full description of such an event comes from Jean of Marmoutier who was writing in about 1180 of the knighting of Geoffrey V, count of Anjou, at Whitsun 1128.[68] As always, we need to be extremely cautious when it comes to backward projection by medieval writers. This is most assuredly evidence of the world of 1180 not that of the 1120s. Geoffrey is knighted by Henry I at Rouen:

> On the great day, as was required by the custom for making knights, baths were prepared for use. … After having cleansed his body, and come from the

[64] 'Dans sa belle défense des femmes, comme dans son bel amour d'elles, la satisfaction du chevalier de littérature est donc très narcissique': Barthélemy, *La chevalerie*, p. 491.

[65] See, for example, B. H. Rosenwein, 'Worrying about Emotions in History', *American Historical Review* 107 (2002), pp. 821–45, and Stephen D. White, 'The Politics of Anger', in *Anger's Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages*, ed. B. H. Rosenwein (Ithaca, 1998), pp. 257–65.

[66] Kaeuper, *Medieval Chivalry*, part V: 'The World of Chivalric Emotions'. See also Kaeuper's critique of N. Elias, 'Chivalry and "the Civilizing Process"', in *Violence in Medieval Society*, ed. R. Kaeuper (Woodbridge, 2000).

[67] Kaeuper, *Medieval Chivalry*, pp. 315–16.

[68] See J. Bradbury, 'Geoffrey V of Anjou, Count and Knight', in *The Ideals and Practice of Medieval Knighthood III*, ed. C. Harper-Bill and R. Harvey (Woodbridge, 1990), pp. 21–38. I have used his translation of the knighting ceremony, p. 32. See also Keen, *Chivalry*, pp. 64–5.

> purification of bathing, the noble offspring of the count of Anjou dressed …. He left his privy chamber and paraded in public, accompanied by a noble retinue. Their horses were led, arms carried to be distributed to each in turn, according to their need. The Angevin led a wonderfully ornamented Spanish horse, whose speed was said to be so great that birds in flight were slower. He wore a matching hauberk made of double mail, in which no hole had been pierced by spear or dart. He was shod in iron shoes, also made from double mail. To his ankles were fastened golden spurs. A shield hung from his neck, on which were golden images of lioncels. On his head was placed a helmet, reflecting the light of many precious gems, tempered in such a way that no sword could break or pierce it. He carried an ash spear with a point of Poitevin iron, and finally a sword from the royal treasure, bearing an ancient inscription over which the superlative Wayland had sweated with much labour and application in the forge of smiths. In this way our armed champion, new in knighthood, but the promise of the future, leaped on his horse with marvellous agility, without using stirrups for the sake of speed.

A week of feasting and tournaments followed. Apart from the lavish nature of all of this and the quality of the arms conferred, several additional features are striking. One is the knighting of other noble youths with the central honorand, in this case thirty. A second is the emphasis on his heraldic device. The third is the linking of the event with tournaments. The knighting of the two sons of the emperor Frederick Barbarossa at Mainz in 1184 was followed by similar celebrations. It was said that a whole city of tents and pavilions was erected along the Rhine for those who came to participate.[69] Near contemporary knightings, probably less lavish than this, were those of Baldwin of Hainault in 1168 and of Arnold of Ardres in 1181–82. Both of these men left immediately for the tourneying circuit.[70] The tournament and the knighting ceremony became twin expressions of the high aristocracy's adoption of knighthood as a means of articulating their sense of superiority within secular society. This was, of course, the high age of the tournament circuit, so wonderfully evoked by the *History of William the Marshal*. Its author tells us, famously, that one was held almost every fortnight in northern France and the Low Countries during the 1170s and 1180s. The tournament world had become one of aristocratic celebrities, like the Young Henry, eldest son Henry II of England, and Baldwin V of Hainault, whose story is told by Gislebert of Mons.[71] Then, of course, there is the great William the

[69] Keen, *Chivalry,* p. 22.

[70] Barker, *The Tournament in England*, p. 114.

[71] For Henry see M. Strickland, *Henry the Young King, 1155–1183* (New Haven and London, 2016), ch. 11, 'Apogee: King of the Tournament, 1177–82'. For Baldwin V see Barthélemy, *La chevalerie,* pp. 371–80.

Marshal himself, paragon and exemplar.[72] William and his fictive equivalents were, as Crouch has remarked, the avatars of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.[73] Tournaments were a compulsory ingredient in the romances, as of course in Chrétien de Troyes. It is worth reminding ourselves at this point just how courtly was the world of Chrétien, commissioned as he was by Marie of Champagne and Philip of Alsace.

Finally, as evidence of its maturation we encounter the 'order' of chivalry. Another striking feature of the mid to late twelfth century was the proliferation of references to knighthood as an order. They are brought together by Kaeuper in *Holy Warriors*.[74] The earliest use of the *ordo equistris* seems to come from Guibert de Nogent in the early twelfth century. More significant is the English chronicle which talks of knights telling a high cleric before the Battle of the Standard in 1138 that the fighting should be left to them as their order required (*sicut illorum ordo exigebat*). Abbot Suger, soon after, referred to King Louis VI as 'well versed in the pursuit of the knightly order'. In 1179 the *Dialogue of the Exchequer* referred to the collective honour of knighthood, with similar implications. The first redaction of the *chanson Moniage Guillaume* (William in the Monastery), produced around 1150, says nothing on this issue; the second redaction, however, contains a long conversation comparing the order of knights with that of monks. It is highly favourable to the knights and was written about 1180. In the *Purgatory of St Patrick*, the knight Owen speaks with pride of his order. The high point comes, however, with *Perceval*, the knight of the grail, Chrétien's last work where chivalry is proclaimed as the highest order (*le plus haut ordre*) that God has ordained and made. This was no light matter, but a concept of key significance. Around 1175, Etienne de Fougères, bishop of Rennes, produced his *Livre de Manières*.[75] He, too, referred to chivalry as an order, though not of the highest. Etienne was

[72] The study of William the Marshal has become an industry. For the text see now *History of William the Marshal,* ed. A. J. Holden, trans. S. Gregory, and historical notes by D. Crouch (Anglo-Norman Text Society), 3 vols (London, 2002–06). David Crouch has also contributed a biography and edited the family's archive: D. Crouch, *William Marshal* (London and New York, 1990), D. Crouch, *The Acts and Letters of the Marshal Family*, Camden Fifth series, no. 47, Royal Historical Society (Cambridge, 2015). There are also biographies by S. Painter, *William Marshal* (Baltimore, 1933), by G. Duby, *William Marshal, Flower of Chivalry* (London, 1986), translated by R. Howard from *Guillaume le Maréchal ou le meilleur chevalier du monde* (Paris, 1984), and T. Asbridge, *The Greatest Knight* (London, 2015).

[73] Crouch, 'Chivalry and Courtliness: Colliding Constructs', in *Soldiers, Nobles and Gentlemen: Essays in Honour of Maurice Keen*, ed. P. Coss and C. Tyerman (Woodbridge, 2009), p. 42.

[74] R. W. Kaeuper, *Holy Warriors: The Religious Ideology of Chivalry* (Philadelphia, 2009), pp. 145–7.

[75] *Le livre des manières*, ed. A. Lodge (Geneva, 1979). In what follows I have drawn on the analysis by D. Barthélemy in *La chevalerie*, pp. 513–18.

writing of the sins characterising the various sectors of society and of the ways in which they should amend their behaviour in order to achieve salvation. As far as the knights were concerned, he concentrated not on their treatment of women but on the treatment of the peasants within their lordships. He reminds both knights and clerks of the three orders, whereby both of them are sustained by peasant labour. Instead they act as though they are alone in the world, an attitude that immediately evokes the world of romance. Instead of supplying justice, the knights take taxes, labour and fines from their tenants. As Barthélemy writes, perceptively, Etienne 'demystifies' the courtly tale.[76] If he is caustic in his treatment of the knights, he pulls no punches either when it comes to the behaviour of noble ladies. He spares none, neither countesses nor queens. They carry responsibility for generating hatred, urging those knights who declare their love not to fine adventures but to acts of destruction. Not for him the idealisation of noble ladies whereby they become, in Barthélemy's words, 'de simples vecteurs des valeurs chevaleresques'.[77] He targets the debauchery of the courts, with their dances and frivolities, and indeed their tournaments. Not surprisingly he urges the knights to reform their behaviour, act as their ancestors have done and be led by the Church. He reminds them that they took their swords from the altar, and that their duty is to defend Christian people. He advocates degradation from knighthood for those guilty of treason, in the wide sense of abandoning the trust in them. The moral worlds of Etienne de Fougères and of Chrétien de Troyes seem to be miles apart. And yet they both speak of the order of chivalry.

The *Livre de Manières* has a claim, suggests Keen, 'to contain the first symptomatic treatment of chivalry'. There is not yet a codification of chivalry but rather a 'cult of the cavalier' which Etienne is effectively tapping into.[78] For the first codification we have to wait for the anonymous *Ordene de chevalerie*, which dates from around 1220.[79] This was, by contrast with Etienne, a positive treatment that urged clerics to respect the order. The scene is set by the capture of the knight Hugh, count of Tiberias, by no less a person than Saladin. The latter promises to release him if Hugh would allow one extraordinary request. Saladin wants to know how knights are made under Christian law. Hugh therefore takes him through the ceremony of knighting from the ritual bath to the girding on of the sword. The entire ritual is replete with symbolism. Finally he gives him four commandments which a knight must adhere to for his entire life: 'He must not be consenting to any false judgement, or be party in any way to treason; he must honour all women and damsels and be ready to aid them to the limit of his power; he must hear, when possible, a mass every day, and must fast every

[76] *La chevalerie*, p. 515.
[77] *Ibid.*, p. 518.
[78] Keen, *Chivalry*, p. 5.
[79] *The Anonymous Ordene de Chevalerie*, ed. K. Busby (Amsterdam, 1983).

Friday in remembrance of Christ's passion.'[80] The *Ordene* was a popular work and inspired, among others, Ramon Lull, the author of the much read *Book of the Order of Chivalry*, written around 1280. It was such works that allowed the fourteenth-century chivalric knights Henry of Lancaster and Geoffroi de Charny, authors of the *Livre de seyntz medecines* and *Livre de chevalerie* respectively, to believe beyond doubt that they were members of a sanctified 'ordo'.[81]

With this in mind we need to look again at religious chivalry and in particular at the contribution of the period of maturation to its development. Our guide here is Richard Kaeuper. He breaks with the tradition that sees religious chivalry as a viewpoint imposed on the knights, with a limited degree of success, effective more in outward rather than inner matters.[82] Building on the concept of knightly piety, he sees knights not as recipients but as participants, bringing their own independence of mind to the issue of sanctified violence. With the image of Christ himself as a warrior, chivalric fighting could be seen as a form of *imitatio Christi*. An early text that opens up the implications of this sort of thinking is the *Treatise on Saint Patrick's Purgatory*, a clerical work of the late twelfth century that was translated into the vernacular by Marie de France as *Espurgatoire Saint Patriz*. Here a knight, Owen, much against clerical advice but armed with his atonement for his sins, successfully visits Purgatory, suffers horrendous trials and tribulations, and returns to his king. It was a knightly adventure like no other. The high-water mark of religious chivalry, however, it is generally agreed, is the *Quest of the Holy Grail*, part of the 'mythology of chivalry', as Keen puts it. The *Quest* is far more than a validation of knighthood; it provides, as Kaeuper says, 'a divine mission for chivalry'.[83] It was not just such flights of fancy that gave rise to religious chivalry, nor simply the counsel and strictures of the Church, but the social position of knights themselves that allowed them to develop their own ideology, taking what they wanted from clerical and theological traditions and side-stepping or discarding those things – such as the opposition to tournaments – which they did not want to hear. Henry of Lancaster and Geoffroi de Charny were major participants in the Hundred Years War, fought between Christian kings. Their views were framed in religious as well as military terms. Asceticism was combined with prowess to highlight penance, endurance and suffering. Crusade preaching encouraged them to think in terms of salvation through fighting; this could be extended to fighting for their lord, for their king,

[80] Keen, *Chivalry,* pp. 5–7.

[81] The elevated conception of knighthood is found in thirteenth-century legal texts too, from south of the Pyrenees to east of the Rhine, from the Castilian *Las Siete Partidas* to Eike von Repgow's *Sachenspiegal*: *Las Siete Partidas* trans. S. Parsons Scott, ed. R. I. Burns, 5 vols (Philadelphia, 2001); M. Dobozy, trans., *The Saxon Mirror: A Sachenspiegel of the Fourteenth Century* (Philadelphia, 1999).

[82] Kaeuper, *Holy Warriors*.

[83] *Ibid.,* p. 156.

for their realm. What we see is 'knighthood absorbing crusading exhortations through a distinctly lay, aristocratic filter'.[84] All 'good fighting' was worthy of merit and would be reflected in terms of salvation.[85]

One question remains: how do we get from Keen's 'cult of the cavalier' to codification?[86] Etienne de Fougères and other clerics provided antecedents in their moralising and instructional tracts. Another contributory genre, David Crouch suggests, was the southern French and Catalan *ensenhamen.* These were works of instruction for knights, aimed at inculcating good conduct and produced between 1170 and 1213.[87] This was the age of codification more generally. One thinks, for example, of Andrew the Chaplain and the codification of love, even if the code of courtly love was a nineteenth-century invention.[88] Other influences were, of course, the inheritance from the martial proto-chivalry and the forward march of courtliness or courtesy. Although none of this in itself explains the rise of chivalry. Most historians talk in terms of a code, by which they often mean no more than the existence of a set of accepted customs governing behaviour. It appears, however, that there is a stage between this and formal codification, a stage encapsulated by Chrétien, Etienne and others when they spoke of chivalry and when they elevated it to the status of an order. David Crouch has a take on this, invoking the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu and his concept of *habitus*.[89] The *habitus* comprises unconscious behavioural norms and is 'self-generating, flexible and changeable'. In this formulation the influences we have been discussing, including the avatars considered earlier, provide the 'conductors' that turned the *habitus* into a code: the code of chivalry.

[84] *Ibid.,* p. 93.

[85] See also M. Keen, 'War, Peace and Chivalry', in his *Nobles, Knights and Men-at-Arms in the Middle Ages* (London, 1996), pp. 1–20.

[86] Keen, *Chivalry*, 4.

[87] Crouch, 'Chivalry and Courtliness', pp. 44–7.

[88] The idea of treating love as an art with rules, i.e. as a code, came from Ovid. His work was drawn on by Andreas Capellanus for his *De arte honeste amandi.* Whether this was ironic in intention has been much debated. For the text see *The Art of Courtly Love,* trans. J. J. Parry, edited and abridged by F. W. Locke (New York, 1957). It was C. S. Lewis in *The Allegory of Love* (London, 1936) who proposed 'Ovid misunderstood' as a means of understanding medieval literature. The concept of courtly love was first used by G. Paris in 'Le Conte de la charette', *Romania* XII (1883). The literature on the subject is enormous. The codification of medieval love is essentially a modern invention. Some scholars have tended to replace it with *fin' amors,* a term of genuine medieval usage.

[89] Crouch, 'Chivalry and Courtliness', pp. 41–4.

Fusion and Diffusion

All of this, it might be said, does hardly more than describe a process. Why was it that a more mature chivalry arrived at this time? This is to ask a question of a rather different historical order, one perhaps more in keeping with Francophone rather than Anglophone historiography. What is required is an overarching framework, and here we must return to Georges Duby. He put the concept of fusion firmly into the historian's vocabulary. As we have seen, he saw the higher and lower levels of the aristocracy coalescing around the status of knighthood, in the south at least, by the early twelfth century. Full fusion, however, occurred somewhat later. In his words, 'What happened on the eve of the thirteenth century – more exactly sometime between 1180 and 1220 to 1230 – was that the dividing line between these two ranks of the aristocracy seems to have vanished somewhat abruptly.'[90] Castellans and simple knights were no longer separate levels; they fused and became one.

A variety of interconnected causes of this were put forward. One was the rising power of the French kings and regional princes. The power of the castellans was correspondingly reduced so that the distance between them and the ordinary knight attenuated. An increasing class consciousness resulted, centring on knighthood. The aristocratic way of life, with its extravagance and display, led to a degree of indebtedness, which was an added factor. Perhaps most important of all, within this scenario, was a fear of upward mobility from below. The capacity of princes to take into their service men of peasant descent provoked a disdain towards categories of administrators, a sentiment encapsulated by the contempt for the uppity Sir Kay, King Arthur's steward, in Chrétien de Troyes.[91] Another focus of such fear was the mercenary soldier. There was also the increasing economic wealth displayed by merchants, financiers and others of urban origin. Jean Flori follows the same line of thought: 'All these values distinguished the nobility, which closed its ranks to the bourgeoisie who it began to despise and to fear on account of its wealth and growing influence with the monarchs and great princes who had succeeded in rebuilding their power.'[92] He sees the aristocracy as being 'squeezed' between two powers who threatened them from above and below. He quotes Duby: 'the nobility fled to what refuge it thought there was: in etiquette, worldly pleasures, ideology – making its last stand on the ramparts of the imaginary'.[93] In this formulation the fusion of the nobility is essentially

[90] Quoted in Coss, *The Knight*, p. 51.

[91] See, for example, the opening scene of *Yvain* where Sir Kay is depicted as quarrelsome, sarcastic and abusive. A famous essay on this is B. Woledge, 'Bons vavasseurs et mauvais sénéchaux', in *Melanges Rita Lejeune*, 2 vols (Gembloux, 1969), II, pp. 1263–77.

[92] Flori, 'Knightly Society', p. 183.

[93] Duby, *The Three Orders,* pp. 324–5.

a defensive reaction, albeit predicated upon exalted status and a perception of entitlement. At the same time Duby placed considerable emphasis on the aspiration of the ordinary knight, hence the concentration on chivalry as the defining phenomenon. Flori argued, however, that it was not so much that the *milites* were emulating the *nobiles* but that it was the latter who were emphasising their exclusivity by emphasising chivalric behaviour. If what scholars are seeing here was a defensive reaction, it was an extremely assertive one. Some Anglophone scholars have followed suit, seeing in these years a crucial social shift. Crouch has argued that the high aristocracy in England was endeavouring to create a superior knighthood.[94] Fusion, if such there was, was an unintended by-product.

The geographical diffusion of this high chivalric conduct and activity across western and southern Europe also indicates that its initial penetration was at the highest levels of society. Let us take the example of Italy.[95] The oldest chivalric investiture known from central Italy appears to be that of Giovanni, count of Ceccano, who according to the *Annales Ceccanenses* was 'girt with sword of knighthood' (*gladio militiae accinctus est*). The source is essentially a family chronicle like the lives of Lambert of Ardres and Gislebert of Mons made famous by Georges Duby. It consists largely of episodes in the life of the count, who died in 1224 or 1227. The ceremony was clearly a rite of passage, and it is from that moment that he takes centre stage. We hear of duels between knights and of various martial games. The author shows awareness of the myth of Roncesvalles, the subject of the *Song of Roland*. In 1208 at Agnani, Pope Innocent III celebrated his victories. Here he met Sir Giovanni de Ceccano with fifty magnificently apparelled knights. Before the dinner there were chivalric games. The scene seems taken straight out of romance. At around the same time the Provençal poet Raimbert de Vacquerias wrote to Marquis Bonifacio del Monferrato an *epistola poetica* in which he recalled their youth together and how he had himself received investiture from the hands of the marquis. The evidence strongly suggests that elaborate knighting ceremonies were first found at the highest levels, under French influence, and were then diffused downwards from high aristocratic courts. They then penetrated the cities. Pisa, for example, had a society of knights of the Round Table (the *compagnia de Tavola ritonda*).[96]

What, then, of downward diffusion? Important in this context is heraldry, another aristocratic phenomenon that figures strikingly in the romances of Chrétien de Troyes. Heraldry has been defined as 'the systematic use of hereditary

[94] For this point and his criticism of Duby's position see D. Crouch, *The Image of Aristocracy in Britain 1000–1300* (London and New York, 1992), p. 153.

[95] What follows is taken from S. Gasparri, *I 'milites' cittadini. Studi sulla cavalleria in Italia*, Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo (Rome, 1992).

[96] See J. C. Maire Vigueur, *Cavalieri e cittadini: Guerra, conflitti e società nell'Italia comunale* (Bologna, 2004), pp. 147–51.

devices centred on the shield'.[97] It is generally agreed among scholars that its origins lie in the need for identification in tournaments. Indeed, its development is coeval with that of the tournament itself, where it began with a phase identified as proto-heraldry.[98] The display of family symbols is first found on banners where they developed from the 'personal ensigns of great men',[99] used in battle. From here the favoured location of such symbols moves to shields as they become hereditary. By the 1130s–40s the system was in full flower.[100] We begin to see them on equestrian seals, where they are shown not only on shields and surcoats but also on horse trappings in magnificent display. Heraldry at this stage was highly aristocratic and exclusive. The means of dissemination of the designs was familial and we find the same devices moving across aristocratic kin, transmitted in both male and female lines.[101] Their use in tournaments is graphically presented by Chrétien in his *Lancelot*, when tourneying knights are identified individually to Queen Guinevere and her ladies by means of their heraldic devices. In one sense this depiction gives a false impression, for it was not just the individual magnates who were identified in this way but all of the members of their retinue. Once the *mêlée* was underway it would have been very difficult to tell friend from foe unless there were some visible sign. Other romances of the mid to late twelfth century show this phenomenon clearly.[102] We have confirmation also from the history of the great William Marshal. When he appeared in a tournament for the first time, and with startling success, he was identified with an older knight by reference to his shield: 'his shield it is of Tancarville'. His

[97] A. R. Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1956), p. 12.

[98] The key essays here are by M. Pastoureau: 'La diffusion des armoiries et les débuts de l'héraldique', in *La France de Philippe Auguste: le temps des mutations,* ed. R. H. Bautier, Colloques internationaux CNRS 602 (1981), pp. 737–9; 'L'origine des armoiries: un problème en voie de solution?', in *Genealogica & Heraldica: Report of the 14th International Congress of Genealogical Sciences*, ed. S. T. Achen (Copenhagen, 1982), pp. 241–54. See also the essays of Adrian Ailes: 'Heraldry in Twelfth-Century England: The Evidence', in *England in the Twelfth Century*, ed. D. Williams (Woodbridge, 1991), pp. 1–16; 'The Knight, Heraldry and Armour: The Role of Recognition and the Origins of Heraldry', in *Medieval Knighthood IV: Papers from the Fifth Strawberry Hill Conference*, ed. C. Harper-Bill and R. Harvey (Woodbridge, 1992), pp. 1–21. For an overview see Crouch, *Image of Aristocracy*, pp. 220–6.

[99] Crouch, *Image of Aristocracy,* p. 222. Chapter 7 of this work, 'Insignia Defining Aristocracy', contains a thorough discussion of these matters.

[100] As Maurice Keen has said, 'from somewhere around 1140 on we are moving into a world of heraldic usage in the strict sense': *Chivalry,* p. 127.

[101] See also D. Crouch, 'The Historian, Lineage and Heraldry 1050–1250', in *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England*, ed. P. Coss and M. Keen (Woodbridge, 2002).

[102] P. Adam, 'Les usages héraldiques au milieu du XIIe siècle: d'après le Roman de Troie de Benôit de Sainte Maure et la littérature contemporaine', *Archivium Heraldicum* 77 (1963), pp. 18–29.

biography tells us that each time he fought he was given the horses, robes and arms of whichever lord or lady was employing him. As David Crouch tells us, he would not have sported his own arms until he could lead his own company, which he did at the tournament of Lagny near Paris in 1180.[103]

It seems clear from the history of heraldry that chivalric behaviour and belief were diffused downwards from the high aristocracy to members of their retinues and close associates of all kinds. But what of the ordinary landed knights, so to speak, members of the minor aristocracy? By far the fullest evidence comes from England, which will be taken, therefore, as our primary example. Here I will draw more substantially from my own researches. As is well known, the knights of Angevin England enjoyed a social status which had dimensions that were additional to their military service and to their vertical relations with higher social levels. In particular they were called upon within various judicial processes. One of these was as electors and jurors of the grand assize, a legal remedy and procedure introduced in 1179.[104] The survival of central plea rolls from 1194 to 1216 allows us to see the type and indeed the number of knights who were drawn in by the grand assize and other processes associated with the operation of the law affecting local society and centring on the county courts. Some knights were excluded, including barons, courtiers and landless knights attached to households. These records reveal numbers in excess of 4,500 knights active in these processes. Allowing for others who do not appear, including those in households, the total number may well have been in excess of 5,000 in the early thirteenth century.[105] These men ranged from those with very modest holdings to solidly based county knights. The former are reminiscent, and in many cases no doubt descendants, of men who appear among the less well endowed at the beginning of the twelfth century. That there was a certain degree of disdain towards knights of this sort is clear. In the second half of the twelfth century chroniclers still spoke sometimes of rustic knights, while the author of the *Dialogue of the Exchequer* (1179) was among those who differentiated between military active knights and those who rarely fought. One resounding piece of snobbery and a reaction against the social aspiration of knights was provided by Henry II's justiciar, Richard de Lucy, who thundered against Gilbert de Balliol that 'it was not formally the custom for every petty knight (*militulus*) to have a seal, which befits kings and great personages'.[106] That there was social tension

[103] Crouch, *Image of Aristocracy*, p. 230.

[104] For Angevin knighthood in general see Coss, *The Knight,* ch. 3, and for the grand assize in particular P. Coss, *The Origins of the English Gentry* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 45–51.

[105] For a review of the evidence and the work of the various scholars involved see Coss, *Origins*, pp. 90–4.

[106] E. Searle, *Lordship and Community: Battle Abbey and its Banlieu, 1066–1538* (Toronto, 1974), p. 42.

here seems clear. Gilbert de Balliol was not truly a *militulus* but there were those who were, and many seem to have been thriving in Angevin England.

The question arises as to whether these local knights had actually been through a knighting ceremony: whether, that is to say, they had been dubbed. The alternative would make some of them at least 'notional knights' for the purpose of judicial procedures. In fact the inclusion of a non-knight could be used to invalidate a jury's verdict, and occasionally our sources speak directly of belted knights or knights 'girt with the sword'. The reference here to the knighting ceremony seems almost certain. This was not necessarily very elaborate but 'mere dubbing', as it has been called. The development of the full-scale knighting ceremony with its lavish ritual and concomitant expense must have put pressure upon many a knightly family if it wanted to stay in the game.[107] As an indication of costs involved we can cite King John's occasional intervention to help his household knights. In 1204 he spent £33 on three robes of scarlet, three of green cloth, two brocades, one mattress and other things necessary for making one knight. The costs of the ceremony were only one part of the outlay. There was also the cost of armour and of warhorses. During the 1220s–40s we find examples of men getting into financial difficulties through the cost of becoming a knight. It is not surprising that the number of men taking up knighthood fell. This had begun by the 1220s and probably before. By the 1240s the retreat from knighthood had made serious inroads into the number of knights in England. From the 1230s we find knights being distinguished in witness lists to charters as *domini*, giving a diplomatic dimension to calling a knight 'Sir'. Famously, when sources allow us to calculate the total number of knights in England, in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century the generally agreed figure is around 1,500, reflecting primarily the decline in the early to mid thirteenth century. Many men did not follow their fathers into knighthood. The age of the *milituli* had come to an end, and with them went many quite well-established men at the lower end of the spectrum. The reasons for the decline are complex but there seems little doubt that the main factor was cost, not only of the knighting ceremony but also of the lifestyle dictated by chivalric knighthood. David Crouch is surely right that the high aristocracy managed to create a superior knighthood for themselves. A by-product of this was to force the sons and other male relatives of lesser knights out. If this was a fusion, it was a selective fusion.

Some Anglophone scholars have described what happened in England from around 1180 to around 1230 as a 'transformation'.[108] One of the symptoms of this transformation was the diffusion of heraldry. As we have seen, in the first

[107] These issues are discussed at length in Coss, *Origins*, ch. 4, 'The Crisis of the Knightly Class Revisited'.

[108] For example: Coss, *The Knight*, ch. 3, 'Angevin Knighthood and its Transformation'; K. Faulkner, 'The Transformation of Knighthood in Early Thirteenth-Century England',

instance this was confined to the high aristocracy and displayed at tournaments, on seals, sepulchral monuments and elsewhere. Just as seals came to be more widely diffused, so did heraldry. It spread initially through tenants and officials of the great lords, with families differencing the arms of their lords and patrons.[109] The chronology of the adoption of heraldic devices by county knights is unclear but there is no doubt that it took place during the period of transformation, and probably for the most part towards its latter end. Heraldic sealing was confined to knights throughout the thirteenth century. In short, in the wake of this transformation we find a new, more exclusive knighthood centred on the expression of chivalry and chivalric values. The full consequences of this are evident in the age of the three Edwards, from the Welsh and Scottish wars of Edward I to the great victories of Edward III in the Hundred Years War. This age saw the full flowering of chivalric culture; heraldry, its most pervasive visual manifestation was to be found everywhere as a living entity. Knighthood came very close to becoming the basis of a caste nobility in England, uniting earls and barons, bannerets and bachelor knights.[110] Notwithstanding differences in rank, they were bound together by a formidable chivalric ideology.

That this caste nobility did not in fact emerge was due to countervailing influences, not least the widening of the military community to which Andrew Ayton has drawn particular attention.[111] In the fourteenth century esquires came to function alongside knights as part of a warrior elite. In consequence of this and of their civilian activities, esquires came to 'assume arms', that is to say they acquired heraldic devices. They did not participate in anything equivalent to a knighting ceremony, but they did adopt a martial identity hitherto held exclusively by knights. In short, the downward diffusion of chivalric mores continued into the fourteenth century and indeed beyond, for both the bearing of heraldic arms and the expression of elevated manners long characterised those who considered themselves noble or gentle.[112] These were international phenomena of

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English Historical Review 111 (1996), 1–23; D. Crouch, *The English Aristocracy 1070–1272: A Social Transformation* (New Haven and London, 2011).

[109] The process of dissemination is described at length, with illustrations, in Coss, *The Knight*, ch. 4. *Differencing* refers to the various means whereby a 'parent' coat of arms is altered to create a new one, e.g. a change in tincture or an additional mark or *brisure* such as a bend or label. Younger sons and cadet lines could both be indicated in this way.

[110] For these points see in particular P. Coss, 'Knighthood, Heraldry and Social Exclusion in Edwardian England', in *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display,* ed. Coss and Keen, pp. 39–68.

[111] For an assessment of Ayton's contribution in this respect see my 'Andrew Ayton, the Military Community and the Evolution of the Gentry in Fourteenth-Century England', in *Military Communities in Late Medieval England: Essays in Honour of Andrew Ayton*, ed. G. P. Baker, C. L. Lambert and D. Simpkin (Woodbridge, 2018), pp. 31–50.

[112] On these issues see, in particular, M. Keen, *Origins of the English Gentleman: Heraldry, Chivalry and Gentility in Medieval England, c. 1300–c.1500* (Stroud, 2002).

course and in no way confined to England and France. The pace may have been different and particular societies had their peculiarities but the process of diffusion of chivalry was generally the same.

In this brief survey of writing on the nature, origins and diffusion of chivalry we have encountered an invigorating variety of perspectives. As a means of summary I will try now to weave my way through these to offer a coherent interpretation. The reader will readily understand that this involves making choices. Chivalry began life as a set of values widely shared by an aristocratic warrior elite. Although they operated within a Christian framework, and the Church was not without influence upon them, the ideas and behavioural traits that governed chivalry were essentially secular. Notwithstanding some Carolingian and post-Carolingian influences, the early or proto chivalry of the mid eleventh to mid twelfth centuries reflected the outlook and way of life of these men on whose social and military prominence it was predicated. A sea change occurred, however, in the later twelfth and early thirteenth centuries when knighthood and chivalry came to define a newly crystallised nobility. A more aggressive spirit of social exclusion, emanating from the high aristocracy, turned chivalry into an immensely powerful ideology, one with a rich variety of facets and strands, that encapsulated the sense of difference and of entitlement that characterised the secular elite. Its diffusion, both geographical and social, reveals a peculiar blend of exclusion and aspiration that goes a long way towards explaining its social force and its longevity.

2

The Organisation of Chivalric Society

DAVID SIMPKIN

What was chivalric society? The answer to this question, like all such questions, will depend much on the audience to which it is being addressed and the perspectives from which it is being considered, from the social to the geographical, the chronological to the hierarchical, the military to the more narrowly political, the central to the local. Further clarification is required due to the fact that the emphasis in the title of this chapter is on the *organisation* of chivalric society, with the implication being that someone or something was doing the organising. This in turn begs the question of what he, they or it were actually organising chivalric society *for*. To prevent confusion from the outset, therefore, this chapter will be concerning itself with the monarchies of medieval Europe, specifically western and central Europe, for the reason that throughout this era they constituted the executive power most capable of organising chivalric society. This society, in turn, will be defined in its simplest and least contentious sense as the knights and those above them, bearing a panoply of noble titles, who might be considered as knights cloaked in supplementary regalia. The slight exception to this rule comes in the period from *c.* 1350 to 1450 when, in the later stages of *vital* chivalric society, many esquires were effectively accepted, by a process of osmosis and adaptation, into the evolving sense of what it meant to be chivalric. This is highlighted, for instance, by the fact that Geoffroi de Charny, the fourteenth-century author of the famous chivalric treatise *Le Livre de Chevalerie*, clearly saw fit to include all men-at-arms, and not only those actually dubbed to knighthood, among the chivalrous.[1] As for what these knights and the broadly knightly were being organised for, it would be difficult and arguably unnecessary to look beyond the two primary purposes of war and government, with the various emphases on defence, security, territorial aggrandisement, regional administration and law and order which those terms imply. These basic terms of enquiry having been clarified from the outset, attention can thus be turned to the more interesting

[1] M. Keen, *Chivalry* (London, 1984), p. 13.

question of how the monarchies made, or attempted to make, chivalric society work for rather than against them.

Because, far more often than not, chivalric society was cooperative and constructive, at least from the monarchs' point of view (peasants, women and so on might, of course, have begged to differ, despite the emphasis in such works as that of Charny on the knights' duty to defend the weak and poor). In many respects, the significant but generally sporadic occasions when the monarchical–chivalric axis became rent asunder – most obviously during times of civil conflict – serve to demonstrate how well most medieval monarchs most of the time succeeded at maintaining a community of interest between themselves and their most wealthy and illustrious subjects. Take, for example, the Wars of the Roses in England from *c.* 1450 to 1509, during which the usual laws of war were suspended as aristocrats on all sides 'appreciated that there was no surer way of curbing political foes than by beheading them'.[2] In a society so characterised by the belief in the virtue of arms and trials of strength it is arguably astonishing that medieval Europe did not more regularly resemble this kind of Hobbesian dystopia in which intra-state violence was perpetrated and perpetuated for decades rather than merely weeks or months. Yet the Wars of the Roses *were* exceptional for their duration and the enormous difficulty that the competing monarchs faced in restoring order; and there lies the rub, because it was the lack of clarity over the issue of monarchical legitimacy rather than an innate unwillingness, or rather averseness, of chivalric society to be tamed, organised or controlled that made the conflict so immune to resolution for so long. As Nigel Saul has explained, it was also because 'Henry VI himself had failed as a knight' that the issue of dynastic legitimacy came to the fore and a large portion of chivalric sentiment within England gravitated towards Richard, duke of York, as the perceived inheritor of the knightly virtues of Edward III and Henry V.[3] Yet even in these circumstances chivalry could serve as a constructive force around which renewed notions of order and stability could cohere. This can be seen in the emergence during the reign of Edward IV of a more explicitly state-centred interpretation of chivalry, as articulated, for instance, in the translation by John Tiptoft, earl of Worcester, of Buonaccorso da Montemagno's *Contraversia de Nobilitate* (*Declamacion of Noblesse*), in which, as Saul points out, Tiptoft lent 'his own imprimatur to the humanist view of the ruling class as an elite defined not by blood but by virtue and dedication to the service of the state'.[4] Arguably, at the end of the fifteenth century the centralised version of chivalry was finally triumphing over its decentralised equivalent. Yet in truth the essence of chivalry had always resided in the shared values of king and aristocracy, as well

[2] M. Hicks, *The Wars of the Roses* (London, 2010), p. 9. The dates are also those of Hicks.
[3] N. Saul, *For Honour and Fame: Chivalry in England, 1066–1500* (London, 2011), p. 333.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 338.

as, it should not be forgotten, in their shared privileges over the rest of society, considerations which generally impelled them towards close cooperation rather than rivalry.

As Maurice Keen made abundantly clear in his magisterial work on the subject, chivalry was a phenomenon that developed independently of both monarchical and clerical government, having its roots in the growth of a new martial elitism (occasioned by the increased predominance of mounted warfare), which in turn fed a new social elitism during the course of the eleventh century;[5] and whilst chivalry certainly did receive additional impetus and stimuli from kings and churchmen, the dissemination of influences was always mutual in relation to the former and selective in relation to the latter. Consequently, for a king desirous of organising chivalric society, it would always be a matter of leading by example within the system of martial codes and ethics rather than manipulating it from a detached, abstracted vantage point. In short, medieval kings were *part* of chivalric society and could only hope to reap the full benefits of its latent potential for external conquest and strong government if they became paragons of the chivalric virtues, as seen in the way that the perceived lack of chivalric qualities in Henry VI had led to civil war. Indeed, the great kings of this era (according to contemporary, domestic judgement) were those, above all, who embodied the qualities and code of ethics of the knight; and it was these standards against which kings were often judged after their deaths. One of the best examples of this is John of London's *Commendatio Lamentabilis*, a eulogy for Edward I composed *c.* 1307, which has been studied in detail by Björn Weiler. In the *Commendatio*, Edward is described as 'a warrior for the Church, and the pride of chivalry' ('pugil ecclesiae et splendour militiae'), whilst, as Weiler notes, what this text most obviously shares with other contemporary, post-mortem reflections on Edward's life 'is an emphasis on the king's chivalry'.[6] This emphasis is particularly important because, as Weiler makes clear, the *Commendatio* 'reflected English conventions of viewing and defining structures of political organisation', not least because of the way that it 'usefully highlights some of the ideals and norms that conditioned politics'.[7] By placing chivalric prowess at the centre of these norms as a binding influence, it can be argued that John of London, among others, was showing a full appreciation of how the symbiotic relationship between king and knights was also to the overall advantage of the realm, but more significantly for present purposes, that the king's own chivalric

[5] Keen, *Chivalry*, p. 42.

[6] B. Weiler, 'The *Commendatio Lamentabilis* for Edward I and Plantagenet Kingship', in *War, Government and Aristocracy in the British Isles c. 1150–1500: Essays in Honour of Michael Prestwich*, ed. C. Given-Wilson, A. Kettle and L. Scales (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 114–30, at p. 115.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 130.

qualities – of prowess, largesse, valour and humility – were thus not merely a gloss on but rather an essential precondition for stable government.

What doubtless added to Edward's reputation as a paragon of chivalry, at least in English accounts, was that he had taken the Cross in 1268 and served on the Ninth Crusade of 1271–72; indeed, the pope is recorded in John of London's *Commendatio* as making the first of the eight lamentations. Whilst such a crusading record was not an essential prerequisite for gaining the respect of the knights among one's countrymen, a case can be made that the presence of perceived infidels or barbarians on one's national borders (in Edward's case, the Welsh and the Scots substituting to some extent for more acceptable – from the Church's point of view – foes) served to harness the energies of chivalric society and therefore made it easier to call on knights' loyalties and hence to organise them, whether for war or for governance, the two inevitably and frequently overlapping in an age marked largely by government *for* war. Such a scenario was more obviously manifest in the Christian kingdoms of Iberia between the capture of Toledo in 1085 and the conquest of Granada in 1492, that is, during the long, drawn-out process of the *Reconquista*. Where mid to late medieval monarchs might most obviously come into conflict with parts, at least, of their chivalric communities – and in this regard even Edward I and Edward III of England in 1297 and 1340 respectively were not immune – was when attempting to raise taxes, and indeed extraordinary taxes, for wars which were innovative in their processes of financing and organisation, of doubtful legitimacy in their causation, or of uncertain or potentially exceptional duration, with all the burdens that implied. However, on the frontier between the Christian kingdoms of northern Spain and the Muslim lands of Al-Andalus, successive kings between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries were generally able to rely on the willing cooperation of chivalric society, politically, financially and militarily, precisely because the righteousness of the cause, by contemporary religious standards, surmounted the extraordinary magnitude of their demands. One simple mark of this greater commitment to military service on behalf of the monarch in this frontier zone was that whereas in France and England the customary obligatory spell of service in the 'feudal' first half of our period (*c.* 1100–1300) was forty days, in Iberia a term of service of three months was the norm, though a stipend or tenancy would be provided to cover the nobles' costs as a substitute for the northern fief.[8] However, as the payment of the stipend would imply, it would be wrong to attribute the exceptional longevity and persistence of the military commitment of the Iberian knights to necessity, altruism or religiosity alone, for the very nature of frontier war bought a potential scale of territorial bounty unknown in most other parts of western Europe. For example, 'at least fifteen magnates and 200 knights received a share

[8] J. F. O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain* (Philadelphia, 2003), p. 125.

in the partition of Seville' once it had fallen to the army of Ferdinand III in 1248.[9] Therefore what arguably enabled the Christian monarchs of the Iberian peninsula to organise chivalric society for their wars against the Muslims was the general success of their ventures which, unlike most wars in western Europe in this era, brought substantial and sustained landed bounties not only for the monarchs but also for their chief vassals. Whilst, therefore, even the Christian kings of Iberia occasionally faced resistance within the Cortes over the raising of extraordinary taxation, such as when Alfonso II of Aragon levied the *bovaticum* in 1173, the gradual but generally unremitting process of territorial expansion – more so than the occasional battlefield victories such as that at Las Navas de Tolosa (1212) – maintained the general pliability and cooperation of the chivalric elites in what was essentially a mutually beneficial process of reconquest.[10]

A somewhat similar geopolitical situation obtained in medieval Hungary, which having survived Mongol invasion in 1241 carried out its own territorial expansions under King Charles I of Anjou (1301–42) and, primarily, Louis the Great (1342–82) into Serbia, Dalmatia, Bulgaria, Moldavia and Wallachia, as well as incursions on the eastern frontier against the declining Golden Horde. Although the new, post-Arpadian dynasty had at first faced internal unrest from a number of quarters,[11] it soon raised up a new elite and found ample means of rewarding them and guaranteeing their loyalty. It did this through the dual bounty of territorial conquest and high office, in addition to the further royal munificence facilitated by the discovery of extensive gold mines, especially at Kremnica, from the 1320s.[12] Under Charles I 'new men' began 'to appear in key positions' and might be rewarded territorially, as for example in the case of Thomas Szécsényi, who 'in 1321 was appointed voivode of Transylvania',[13] whilst under Louis the Great the connection between soldiering and royal favour was most demonstrable in the case of the Lackfi family, all of whom gave good service in the king's wars, with no fewer than five likewise holding the position of voivode of Transylvania.[14] According to Pál Engel, one should be wary of equating Hungary too closely with the chivalric traditions of western Europe, despite superficial similarities and some selective copying on the part of the Hungarian kings, who in the case of the Angevin rulers of the fourteenth century were anyway linked genealogically to the heartlands of chivalry. For 'the members of the court may have lived according to chivalrous ceremonies, and

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 127.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 162.
[11] P. Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen: A History of Medieval Hungary 895–1526*, trans. T. Pálosfalvi and ed. A. Ayton (London, 2001), pp. 130–2.
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 155.
[13] *Ibid.*, p. 144.
[14] *Ibid.*, pp. 182–3.

they certainly had a markedly aristocratic view of the world; but they remained essentially Hungarian noblemen, belonging to an archaic world that was inextricably intertwined with pagan and patriarchal traditions'.[15] That said, and semantics aside, it is evident that as in Spain during the *Reconquista*, a generally successful expansionist monarchy such as the Angevins of fourteenth-century Hungary would tend to have fewer problems in creating a community of interest with their baronial and knightly elites than many of their counterparts elsewhere in Europe. Indeed, until his old age, the reign of Louis was marked by a striking unity of interest between himself and his leading subjects: 'His first thirty years were characterised by his liking for armed conflicts and expansionism … As long as he pursued this political course the court was necessarily dominated by persons who shared his preferences and who had demonstrated their talents as military commanders.'[16] One might note that such was arguably the chief recipe for harmonious rule across all of medieval Europe.

In chivalric-era Germany, on the other hand, it was the knights' unique legal status rather than their frontier location (though the latter also applied in some parts of the Empire) which made the monarchs' task of organising them for their own purposes easier than it might have been within more independent knightly societies. As Benjamin Arnold has pointed out, 'Their lords had hereditary, proprietary rights over their actual persons, services, and possessions … a fundamental difference from knighthoods in other west European, Mediterranean, and Crusader kingdoms, where knights were free men constrained by their oaths of homage, or in the Orders of Spain, Outremer, Prussia, and elsewhere, by their monastic vows.'[17] By virtue of the Holy Roman Empire's pyramidal structure, even the emperors could not get immediate access to and control of all these *ministeriales*, for a large proportion were, of course, the *ministeriales* not of the Salian and Hohenstaufen monarchs but of the many other lords, both secular and ecclesiastical, within the Empire. Nevertheless, where the *ministeriales* belonged to the monarch their service could be controlled and organised arguably more completely and effectively than within any other chivalric society, whilst the greater control exercised by all lords over these servile knights theoretically made the functioning of the whole of chivalric society more efficient, provided that the major lords were cooperative and not rebellious (which was not always the case, especially in Saxony). Administratively the *ministeriales* were employed in a variety of roles both by imperial and lesser lords, not only in the major household offices of marshal, chamberlain, butler and seneschal but also as magistrates, advocates, administrators of the imperial fisc and judges on

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 147.
[16] *Ibid.*, p. 174.
[17] B. Arnold, *German Knighthood 1050–1300* (Oxford, 1985), p. 54.

points of feudal custom.[18] It is indicative of the challenges facing all monarchs in an age of necessarily decentralised administration in areas often days and weeks apart that even these servile knights could not always be trusted to do their lords' bidding in the manner expected: in the 1270s Rudolf I, king of Germany, 'launched a new policy of resuming the imperial fisc, offices were confiscated from *ministeriales*, and their commissions were given to members of the free-born nobility'.[19] Nevertheless, within the imperial retinues of most rulers, the *ministeriales* were usually employed to positive effect within both Germany and Italy, at least before 1245, after which their influence began to wane. As Arnold observed, 'The materials which survive about the administration of the imperial fisc, the chronicle-notices about crusades, civil conflicts, and Italian campaigns, and the remnants of rural and urban fortifications in Germany bear witness to the tasks with which the "*ministeriales* of the Roman Empire" were entrusted by Hohenstaufen monarchy.'[20] Ultimately, what marks out these unfree knights from members of chivalric society in neighbouring kingdoms (apart, that is, from their legal status) is the fact that the burden they carried was all the greater due to the disparate nature of the territorial units in which they were employed, as well as the stabilising tendency for their offices to be inherited rather than granted anew by each ruler.

If these services provided stability to what was otherwise a part of Europe more liable than most to instability, it would be unwise to draw too sharp a distinction between the organisation of chivalric society in the imperial lands and elsewhere, because all monarchs retained a corps of permanent knights which, though more changeable and independent than those found in Germany and parts of northern Italy, nevertheless performed a variety of administrative, political and military functions on their behalf. If not exactly the glue holding chivalric society together – for too many knights were *not* part of the monarch's personal retinue for this to be the case – such retinues, the *familia* or household, did provide kings with an important freedom of action which reduced somewhat their reliance on potentially cantankerous magnates and their retinues, at least in ordinary peacetime circumstances. In England the post-1066 royal household can be seen to have been primarily military in function, and this remained true for the households and courts of most medieval monarchs, but they also carried out a variety of additional governmental and administrative functions. From as early as the reign of Henry II the knightly royal household 'supplied kings with sheriffs, provincial governors, judges, councillors and diplomats; it was fortified by traditions of service in such families as the Cliffords and the Lestranges; and it came to attract the aristocracy, even members of comital families, into

[18] *Ibid.*, ch. 7.
[19] *Ibid.*, p. 188.
[20] *Ibid.*, pp. 220–1.

its ranks'.[21] Under Edward III the most prominent and long-serving household knights combined a variety of functions and services, with Sir Reginald Cobham of Sterborough, for example, 'undertaking a distinguished and entirely unblemished career in civilian government, war and diplomacy'.[22] However, it was undoubtedly in their military role that household knights performed their most important services to medieval monarchs, in accordance with the centrality of warfare to the chivalric ethos. In the late thirteenth century, kings Louis IX and Philip III of France could call on the services of several hundred knights within the extended wartime household at the time of their Tunisian and Aragonese crusades respectively.[23] Likewise when King David II of Scotland was defeated at the battle of Neville's Cross in 1346 the casualty list included 'almost all of David's household government and daily council as well as the chivalric cadre of skilled lesser Lowland knights and esquires from the north-east, Angus, Fife and the Lothians he had built up since 1341'.[24] Although the number of knights retained directly, especially during peacetime, was often relatively small, certainly numbering in the tens rather than the hundreds, careful management of the knightly household in terms of its geographical origins and social networks could certainly go a long way to the efficient organisation of chivalric society, but in truth it could only be a start.

For until the monarchies of Europe were in command of states which unreservedly placed service and professionalism before communities of interest, privilege and tradition, the organisation of chivalric society would always be a matter for cooperation rather than coercion. Therefore, as in so many other ways, it is not surprising to find the combination of administrative, political and military functions carried out by knights of the royal household reflected, imitated and adapted among the aristocracies of medieval Europe, who faced their own delicate relations with their own vassals-cum-retainers-cum-affinities and who therefore erected their own household establishments with dual peacetime and military functions.[25] What changed and evolved, to one degree or another, were the means by which royal houses sought to utilise these networks for their own purposes and the varied degrees of success that they had in doing so. Again, this often depended to a large extent on the perceived chivalric qualities of the

[21] J. O. Prestwich, 'The Military Household of the Norman Kings', in *Anglo-Norman Warfare*, ed. M. Strickland (Woodbridge, 1992), pp. 93–127, at p. 104 (reprinted from the original in *English Historical Review* 96 (1981), pp. 1–37).

[22] W. M. Ormrod, *Edward III* (London, 2011), p. 133.

[23] X. Hélary, *L'armée du roi de France: La guerre de Saint Louis à Philippe le Bel* (Paris, 2012), pp. 90–5.

[24] M. A. Penman, *David II, 1329–71* (Edinburgh, 2004), p. 135.

[25] See, for example, A. Curry, 'Personal Links and the Nature of the English War Retinue: A Case Study of John Mowbray, earl Marshal, and the Campaign of 1415', in *Liens, reseaux et solidarités*, ed. E. Anceau, V. Gazeau and F. J. Ruggiu (Paris, 2006), pp. 153–67.

reigning king. The trouble with viewing the monarch as a kind of first among chivalric equals at the siege or on the battlefield lay not only, however, in the fact that not all kings lived up to the standards required of them in this respect, but also in the way that the very violence intrinsic to the chivalric ethos and conduct, so compellingly depicted by Richard Kaeuper among others, did not always sit comfortably alongside the broader aims of state of even the most bellicose rulers, especially when these related to the kings' non-military needs.[26] In short, sometimes it was not only a question of organising and therefore channelling chivalry, but also of *controlling* it. This tension can be traced in several dimensions of medieval government, not least in relation to disputes over the nature and origin of landed (and thus by implication chivalric) rights, the extent of seigneurial jurisdiction, the right to forceful vindication of rights (for which read private war) at a local and regional level, and the right to partake in the regular exercise of arms, such as tourneys, which as the medieval period progressed tended increasingly to take on political overtones. The problem was that the community of interests between monarch and social elite held the potential to become a conflict of interests depending on whether these socio-cultural meeting-points served primarily to strengthen vertical, Crown–magnate relations or horizontal, magnate–magnate relations across territorial boundaries. The tournament was one arena where the latter tendency was especially strong, and 'as late as the reign of Edward I scores of English bannerets (or magnate-knights) and knights were still regularly making tours of the great tournament grounds of northern France, as they had been doing since the reign of Henry I'.[27] This created a 'social mixing' that stood in contrast to the growing tensions between Plantagenet and Capetian monarchs from around the year 1294.

Indeed the tournament serves as a good manifestation of many of the tensions between, on the one hand, shared monarchical-aristocratic values and, on the other, diverging attitudes towards the power of the growing medieval state vis-à-vis the right of the chivalric elite to act without constraint. If they employed them effectively, rulers could certainly use tournaments and jousts to harness their political communities behind their aims, as demonstrated by the tournament hosted by Holy Roman Emperor Frederick Barbarossa at Mainz in 1184, when the emperor set up 'on the banks of the Rhine what seemed to be a whole city of tents and pavilions to house the host that came to witness the knighting of his two sons … and to join in the tourneying there'.[28] The majority of tournaments in the twelfth century and, indeed, afterwards were patronised not by the major royal dynasties but by local and regional magnates, though lesser

[26] R. W. Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe* (Oxford, 1999), *passim*.
[27] D. Crouch, *The Birth of Nobility: Constructing Aristocracy in England and France 900–1300* (Harlow, 2005), pp. 120–1.
[28] Keen, *Chivalry*, p. 22.

territorial rulers such as Charles, count of Flanders (1119–27) and Philip, count of Flanders (1168–91) did play a major organising role from an early stage.[29] However, Crown-sponsored tournaments became a little more common from the mid thirteenth century, perhaps as monarchs began to realise the benefits of linking themselves to, rather than trying to stunt, the in-any-case apparently unstoppable rise of this chivalric craze. In 1279 King Philip III of France sponsored an international tournament at Compiègne, the setting 'in the vicinity of one of his great royal castles' and the presence of such illustrious participants as Prince Charles of Salerno and King Edward of England doubtless redounding to the glory of the Capetian monarchy and thereby enhancing its prestige among its own knights.[30] Another opportunity to use tourneys or jousts to emphasise and symbolise the shared endeavours of Crown and chivalric elites presented itself following military victories. Although Edward I of England had banned tournaments at the beginning of his reign 'because they diverted men's interests from his campaigns', he was too much of a knight himself to stick rigidly to this principle and it was a different matter once the campaigns were over.[31] At the end of July 1284, following the successful Welsh war and conquest of Gwynedd during 1282–83, Edward 'held a magnificent "Round Table" tournament at Nefyn, a remote little town where the prophecies of Merlin were said to have been found',[32] whilst the tournament held at Falkirk in 1302 was similarly envisaged as a mutual celebration of success in war.[33] Not surprisingly, for kings who had less success and who in any case lacked the communicative and leadership skills to create a community of interest with their knightly elites, the tournament or joust became something to control rather than harness, or to manipulate rather than to embrace. During his youth, Edward of Caernarfon 'is never known to have taken part in a tournament',[34] a disinclination which, though rational on a personal level, became dangerous on a political level when in June 1309, as King Edward II, he banned the earls of Gloucester, Hereford, Lancaster, Surrey, Warwick and Arundel from engaging in tournaments.[35] This was perhaps partly in response to a tournament held at Dunstable earlier that year which might have

[29] D. Crouch, *Tournament* (London, 2005), pp. 20–30.
[30] *Ibid.*, p. 37.
[31] M. Prestwich, *The Three Edwards: War and State in England 1272–1377* (London, 1980), p. 37.
[32] M. Morris, *A Great and Terrible King: Edward I and the Forging of Britain* (London, 2008), p. 192.
[33] M. Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare in the Middle Ages: The English Experience* (London, 1996), p. 224.
[34] S. Phillips, *Edward II* (London, 2010), p. 40.
[35] *Ibid.*, p. 158.

assumed the role of a political gathering for the king's chief opponents.[36] Such distrust was likely to break rather than strengthen the monarchical–chivalric axis holding together the upper strata of medieval society, yet this tension serves as a reminder that whilst the monarch might try to embody or channel chivalry, ultimately he was not its source or, even within his own household, its only focus. In the short term, Richard II was more Machiavellian in his use of the Coventry tournament of 1397 to banish from the realm both the duke of Norfolk and the duke of Hereford, 'the real reason for the sentence' of the latter being 'the king's desire to see off a man who he saw as a threat to his security'.[37] Yet this did Richard little good when Bolingbroke returned as a usurper just two years later.

In addition to the sometimes doubtful benefits of staging tournaments and jousts, medieval monarchs had various means of inculcating a sense of shared chivalric culture. Indeed it is important to note that together with the growing bureaucratic power of the state and the increasing use of contracts to formalise Crown-noble-gentry relations, from around 1250 there was a less tangible but arguably far more formidable development of a shared *mentalité*, which wise kings would do their best to foster so as to make it appear, at least, that chivalric society was not simply being organised *by* them but that the aristocracy broadly conceived were actually engaged in a mutually beneficial organisation of society *alongside* the kings, a kind of partnership in government and war. Nowhere is this drive towards a sense of shared endeavour more manifest than in the orders of chivalry that sprung up across western Europe, primarily during the fourteenth century. Arguably, even the naming of these orders served, deliberately, to emphasise the royal view of the chivalric elite as providing support and sustenance to the monarchies rather than as a parallel or countervailing force. In a recent analysis of the Order of the Garter developed by Edward III in England from 1348, Clifford Rogers has argued convincingly that the oft-discussed garter badge can and should be read – when taken together with the mottos *Honi soit qui mal y pense* and *Dieu et mon droit* – as signifying 'a tight-knit band of knights bound to upholding Edward's God-given right [sc. to the French royal title and arms], in defiance of those who think ill of it'.[38] What makes this interpretation especially convincing, besides its inherent plausibility, is the fact that one of the earlier chivalric orders formed in western Europe by a reigning monarch, the Order of the Band of King Alfonso XI of Castile and Leon established in 1330, used similar binding and supporting imagery, as also did 'two

[36] *Ibid.*, p. 155; R. M. Haines, *King Edward II: His Life, His Reign, and its Aftermath, 1284–1330* (Montreal, 2003), p. 72.

[37] N. Saul, *Richard II* (London, 1997), p. 402.

[38] C. J. Rogers, 'The Symbolic Meaning of Edward III's Garter Badge', in *Military Communities in Late Medieval England: Essays in Honour of Andrew Ayton*, ed. G. P. Baker, C. L. Lambert and D. Simpkin (Woodbridge, 2018), pp. 124–46, at p. 144.

other early chivalric orders, Amadeus of Savoy's 1364 Order of the Collar and the fourteenth-century German Society of the Buckle'.[39] During a century when the universalist language of chivalry increasingly took on quasi-nationalist, state-centred overtones, one also finds the establishment of the Order of St George of Charles I in Hungary (pre-1326) and the Order of the Star in France under the patronage and leadership of Jean II from 1351, reflecting the tendency of later medieval monarchs not only to replicate successful practices observed abroad but also to do so with the intention of emphasising the centrality of the monarch and the kingdom as the ultimate outlet for chivalric energies.[40] Perhaps it is not a coincidence that the increasing, if far from complete, triumph of national chivalry developed in the decades following the fall of Acre to the Mamluks in 1291, with the allure of the Levant superseded by conflicts much closer to home. For medieval rulers whose lands were widely spread and disconnected, orders of chivalry could be all the more important for fostering a sense of shared allegiance and common loyalty. This was especially the case with regards to the Order of the Golden Fleece founded by Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, in 1430, as the order served 'to tie together the elite of the ducal lands by means of a common chivalric bond and provided them with a special and elite status both in Burgundy and in Europe'.[41]

Such orders of chivalry were naturally a focus of heraldic display, for coats of arms were one of the chief visual media in the middle ages for communicating a sense of belonging and unity of enterprise, in addition to their more obvious concerns with lineage and familial pedigree. As such the compilation of rolls of arms provided yet another opportunity for medieval kings to emphasise the mutually beneficial yet nevertheless hierarchical relationship between themselves and the rest of chivalric society, and, indeed, for earls, bannerets, knights and eventually esquires to demonstrate their connections to one another. Probably the best example of the composition of an armorial along national lines is the Parliamentary Roll of Arms of the early years of the reign of Edward II of England, one of the most striking features of which is its hierarchical nature, for it 'begins with the king, thirteen earls and the bishop of Durham, followed by the bannerets … [and] then come knights listed on a county basis'.[42] However, as Peter Coss reminds us, one should not push the notion of heraldry as a tool for creating a nascent upper-class patriotism or nationhood too far, for 'heraldry,

[39] *Ibid.*, p. 139.

[40] Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen*, p. 147; C. Taylor, *Chivalry and the Ideals of Knighthood in France during the Hundred Years War* (Cambridge, 2013), p. 35.

[41] K. Stevenson, 'Contesting Chivalry: James II and the Control of Chivalric Culture in the 1450s', *Journal of Medieval History* 33 (2007), pp. 197–214, at pp. 210–11, citing R. Vaughan, *Philip the Good: The Apogee of Burgundy* (rpt Woodbridge, 2002), pp. xxv, 160–3, 172.

[42] P. Coss, *The Knight in Medieval England, 1000–1400* (Stroud, 1993), p. 82.

and the developed culture of which it was a part, involved its participants in an international culture'.[43] In many respects the so-called Parliamentary Roll was exceptional for its sense of national exclusivity. Indeed heralds were widely travelled as part of a cosmopolitan milieu, often collecting and copying coats of arms from the knights of a range of countries to serve as reference materials, which probably explains, for example, why the coats of arms of a number of English knights and gentry appear among materials pertaining to the Burgundian Order of the Golden Fleece and containing mainly the arms of Burgundian and French knights.[44] That said, heraldry could be and was used by royal dynasties for propagandistic purposes in a bid to instil primary loyalties among their subjects. During the Hundred Years War between England and France, both Plantagenet and Valois monarchies exploited the potential of their heraldic emblems to identify themselves with the nation and thus with the interests of their national subjects. By the 1350s the fleurs-de-lis were 'being consciously exploited in a propagandist way to promote political ideology and practical policy, namely the sacred nature of kingship, the unique piety of its people, and the legitimacy of the Valois succession to the crown in 1328'. In a more testosterone-driven riposte, Edward III was depicted in the border of a psalter dating from 1361 to 1373 'dressed in the royal arms' and riding 'triumphantly astride a rearing English lion'.[45] The proliferation of such images and icons, when employed repeatedly in such a long and arduous conflict, served to condition chivalric society in both realms to believe in the righteousness of the cause of their own king, gradually internalising their own knightly values and excluding those of their rivals.

Ultimately, however, there was a limit to how far orders of chivalry and displays of pageantry and heraldry could direct chivalric society in a manner predetermined by the Crown, due to the exclusiveness of the former and the lack of a royal monopoly over the latter. A still greater potential problem was posed by the fact that whilst the shared ethos and emblems of chivalry might function perfectly well as a stimulus to camaraderie when events on the battlefield and tourney ground were going well, they might appear embarrassingly devoid of substance when defeat had become more habitual than victory. Yet chivalry could serve as a binding force even at times of regional or national humiliation, as Craig Taylor's study of the purposeful employment of chivalric ideals in Valois France during the long nadir of defeats suffered during the Hundred Years War indicates. What an analysis of French chivalric texts composed between 1337 and

[43] *Ibid.*, p. 85.

[44] S. Clemmensen, 'The English in the Golden Fleece Group of Armorials', *The Coat of Arms*, third ser., 2 (2006), p. 11–44, at p. 25.

[45] A. Ailes, 'Heraldry in Medieval England: Symbols of Politics and Propaganda', in *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England*, ed. P. Coss and M. Keen (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 83–104, at p. 87.

1453 reveals is the flexibility of certain aspects of the chivalric ethos and how these might be bent and manipulated according to circumstance, a classic example being the shifting emphasis placed on the role of the king in battle. Whereas earlier chivalric chroniclers such as Jean le Bel and Jean Froissart 'had criticised Philippe VI for his reluctance to fight against Edward III, and praised Jean II for his bravery', later, early fifteenth-century writers took a different view. Whilst 'Jean de Montreuil applauded Philippe VI for having wisely fled the battlefield of Crécy, and criticised Jean II for having failed to do the same at Poitiers', Christine de Pizan argued 'that the ruler should avoid battle except against rebellious subjects, lest he be captured, dishonouring him, his blood and his subjects, and also causing great harm to his country'.[46] Arguably implicit in this reworking of chivalric priorities was a decoupling of the related notions of loyalty to the king and loyalty to the state, the implication being that a king did not have to lead by example or be present in person in order to command the loyalty of his elite subjects. The reverse side of this coin was that the social elites had to redouble their efforts due to their duties not only to the king but to the wider realm: 'for many [medieval writers], the only viable solution lay in the adoption of Roman values of discipline, loyalty and service to the Crown and to the public weal'.[47] A problem was that changing the ethics and mentality of an entire class of society takes time, and as can be seen from the later Wars of the Roses in England, the idea of a king having to prove himself worthy of support in the traditional chivalric manner took some time to dissipate. Nevertheless, chivalry's longevity as a major force for social cohesion rested largely on the fact that it could be reworked as occasion demanded.

This shift of emphasis was a long-term project and its completion with the rise of the state and its concomitant service professionalism would ironically signal the end of chivalry as a primary, vital social force sometime between 1450 and 1550. In the meantime, the most effective way to organise the chivalric elite behind the programmes of the Crown was simply to enlist its constituent members directly in royal service; in this way the self-interests of chivalric society could be utilised even when more elevated motivations fell short or when the king failed to provide a suitable exemplary model of knighthood. In this sense, patronage played a crucial role in channelling knightly energies towards service for the Crown rather than against it, whilst the absence or misallocation of patronage had the opposite, often disastrous effect. For Simon de Montfort and his fellow baronial rebels in England during the reign of Henry III, a major cause of resentment, and one which was especially emphasised during 1263, was the way that the king's favourites, the Lusignans – 'aliens' in the political polemics of

[46] Taylor, *Chivalry and the Ideals of Knighthood in France*, p. 47. For the various chroniclers mentioned here see the Select Bibliography.

[47] *Ibid.*, p. 52.

the time – had siphoned off the cream of royal patronage, these views chiming increasingly with a popular xenophobia and leading to a 'shift from the moderate proposal for the exclusion of aliens from government to the much more thoroughgoing one for their exclusion from the kingdom, "never to return"'.[48] To some extent therefore the Barons' Wars were an attempt to correct the perceived malfunctioning of elite society and to restore it to its native harmony. Recently it has been argued that Henry's heir, Edward I, benefited from the nobles' unwillingness to see a re-run of the cataclysms of 1258–67: instead they 'saw the wisdom of renewed royal authority wielded by a man who had learned the lessons of his father's mistakes'; yet this was only possible because Edward 'rewarded good service, he sought their counsel and their company, he offered them internal peace, justice and arbitration in their quarrels and he strove to bind them more closely to the Crown and its purposes'.[49] Yet Edward's achievement, and one which established the foundation of much of the post-mortem praise he received and which was discussed at the beginning of this chapter, lay in his skilful management not only of the nobility but also of the wider community of the realm, within which the role of the knightly class broadly conceived bulked large. As Peter Coss has written, the reign of Edward I witnessed an 'explosion of commissions' which led to 'the development of a real partnership between the Crown and county knights in terms of control of the populace, and the extension of that partnership to involve a broader local elite'.[50] Equally significant is the way that Edward's wars mobilised the majority of knights from all counties, with approximately eighty-four percent of them serving in the royal army at some stage during his reign or during the early years of that of his son.[51] The transformation from the reign of Henry III was startling; but in contrast to the perception in France by the early 1400s, so was the extent to which the personal role of the king was still paramount. This was illustrated by the equally dramatic reversal of fortunes under Edward's son and successor.

Yet, in the two hundred years following the death of Edward I, one detects the growing professionalisation and specificity of function which though sometimes easily embraced within the notions of a chivalric society, increasingly became detached from and parallel to it, though this separation would take a long time to complete and was still evidently in the process of development, and being couched in chivalric terms, at the time of John Tiptoft, earl of Worcester's translation of Buonaccorso da Montemagno's *Contraversia de Nobilitate*, published

[48] J. R. Maddicott, *Simon de Montfort* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 231.
[49] A. M. Spencer, *Nobility and Kingship in Medieval England: The Earls and Edward I, 1272–1307* (Cambridge, 2014), p. 259.
[50] P. Coss, *The Origins of the English Gentry* (Cambridge, 2003), p. 165.
[51] D. Simpkin, *The English Aristocracy at War, from the Welsh Wars of Edward I to the Battle of Bannockburn* (Woodbridge, 2008), p. 23.

by William Caxton in 1481. Perhaps the aspect of late medieval kingship in which this development can most precisely be traced is in the practice of war, ironically given that chivalry was, above all, a martial ethos. Already at the time of the battles of Courtrai (1302), Bannockburn (1314), Morgarten (1315) and Dithmarschen (1319) the professed supremacy of heavily armoured, mounted warriors (the chivalric elite) had come into question.[52] Whilst it was some decades before the predominant role of the nobility and gentry in the organisation and conduct of war was significantly eclipsed, the fourteenth century saw four developments which, taken together, gradually undermined the traditional chivalric service ethic, namely the increasing use of paid, contracted service;[53] the emergence of sub-noble professional military captains and men-at-arms;[54] the increasing duration, frequency and scope of military campaigning;[55] and the evident cheapness and efficiency of deploying large numbers of archers – by this stage commonly mounted – rather than combatants drawn from the social elites, who demanded greater remuneration for their services.[56] Whilst not one of these developments taken in isolation would have been sufficiently significant to undermine the chivalric basis of warfare (which might be taken to mean the pre-eminence and predominance of the aristocracy broadly conceived), taken together they did result in considerable slippage from the original status–service nexus. Naturally, the rate and timing of this transformation varied somewhat from country to country and it would be a mistake to regard the growth of professional military service as totally incompatible with chivalry; on the contrary, those who upheld the code of chivalry might often have seen it as a profession.

In conclusion, then, the means and methods available to medieval monarchs for organising chivalric society were manifold, ranging from the realm of mentalities on the one hand to the less evocative mechanisms of bureaucracies on the other. Whether chivalry was a force tending more towards chaos and rebellion than stability and coalescence of goals will doubtless continue to be debated simply because the evidence will point towards different conclusions depending

[52] J. F. Verbruggen, *The Art of Warfare in Western Europe during the Middle Ages, from the Eighth Century to 1340*, 2nd edn (Woodbridge, 1997), p. 147.

[53] For England, a classic study is J. W. Sherborne, 'Indentured Retinues and the English Expeditions to France, 1369–80', *English Historical Review* 79 (1964), pp. 718–46. For the use of indentures of war in Brabant, see S. Boffa, *Warfare in Medieval Brabant 1356–1406* (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 215–21.

[54] For discussion of this social aspect of the changes taking place, see A. Ayton, 'Military Service and the Dynamics of Recruitment in Fourteenth-Century England', in *The Soldier Experience in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. A. R. Bell *et al.* (Woodbridge, 2011), pp. 9–60, at pp. 30–41.

[55] This was especially significant in relation to English armies during the fifteenth-century phase of the Hundred Years War, on which see A. R. Bell, A. Curry, A. King and D. Simpkin, *The Soldier in Later Medieval England* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 266–8.

[56] There is abundant evidence for this, but see, for example, *ibid.*, pp. 271–4 (appendix).

on the precise period and realm being studied. Yet, as this summary has indicated, certain common attributes and endeavours underpinned the most successful and inspiring monarchies and enabled them to organise chivalric society in a relatively harmonious fashion. For the most part, the essential ingredient was the king himself and his ability to act in accordance with perceived chivalric values – to lead from the front, as it were. Luck also played a part, in the sense that kings who inherited stable realms, were able to unite their social elites against a common foe, or had an abundance of patronage in the form of gold or territory at their disposal were more likely to be able to create a camaraderie and unity of purpose than their less fortunate contemporaries. But then, as always, there is an argument that one makes one's own luck; after all, the bounties of war were only available if one was on the winning side. Imagination also played a part, whether through the lavish hosting of tournaments, the creation of orders of chivalry or the exploitation of heraldry and pageantry for royal-cum-nationalistic purposes. In the end, though, in a militaristic age it was the vicissitudes of war which determined more than any other focus of royal energies whether medieval monarchs could unite their knights behind them or whether violence would be used against rather than in support of them.

3

The Secular Orders: Chivalry in the Service of the State

DAVID GREEN

The fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries saw the foundation of a profusion of new chivalric orders. The brainchildren of kings and princes throughout western Europe, these institutions took form during a period in which traditional concepts of chivalry came under increasing scrutiny and when the socio-economic position of members of the chivalric elite was similarly exposed. Developments in military strategy and technology, and the various pressures inflicted by catastrophes such as the Great Famine and repeated outbreaks of the Black Death, created a climate in which the value of knighthood and the status of nobility were called into question. Yet this also formed the environment in which some of the most celebrated medieval chivalric organisations came into being.[1]

Such organisations were not replacements for crusading orders such as the Hospitallers (the Order of Knights of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem), although the dissolution of the Templars (the Poor Fellow-Soldiers of Christ and of the Temple of Solomon) in 1314 may have provided a context if not a direct motivation for their foundation. Crusading, of course, remained a highly lauded knightly endeavour and members of these new orders were among the most prominent of those who took part in expeditions to southern Spain, or who campaigned alongside the Teutonic Knights in eastern Europe, or who fought in the disastrous Nicopolis expedition (1396).[2] But there is also no doubt

[1] Although a good deal of work has been published subsequently on individual orders, the most significant volume on the secular foundations as a collective phenomenon remains D'A. J. D. Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown: The Monarchical Orders of Knighthood in Later Medieval Europe, 1325–1520* (Woodbridge, rev. edn, 2000).

[2] T. Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade: The English Experience in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2013), pp. 47, 65–6, 76, 84, 88, 102, 113, 141; N. Housley, *The Later Crusades 1274–1580: From Lyons to Alcazar* (Oxford, 1992). It is significant that a new international fraternity, dedicated to crusading, was founded in this period – Philippe de Mézières' Order of the Passion, which included a number of individuals who were also members of other chivalric associations: see A. Bell, 'English Members of the Order of the Passion:

that the nature of crusading evolved in the later middle ages and some aspects of its ethos began to be redirected in national interests. For example, the later stages of the Hundred Years War saw both England and France seek to exploit the idealism and propaganda of the crusade for their own ends. Joan of Arc seems to have viewed her own campaign in crusading terms. In her 'Letter to the English' (22 March 1429) Joan claimed she had 'been sent here to drive [the English] out of France by God the King of Heaven'. Once that was accomplished, 'the French will do the fairest deed that has ever been done for Christianity'[3] – they would recapture the Holy Land. In a similar fashion, propaganda circulated that portrayed the English as a chosen people akin to the children of Israel and in which kings such as Henry V (r. 1413–22) were compared to the Biblical monarchs David and Solomon. In the fifteenth century, then, the Hundred Years War channelled the crusading impulses of some of those among the English and French chivalric classes away from Muslim and pagan targets and towards their neighbours. Because of this, a form of sanctified patriotism began to emerge on both sides of the English Channel/La Manche.[4]

It was within this context that a number of these new chivalric orders took shape. Just as crusading ideology might be used in the interests of the state, so too the chivalric ethic as a whole came to be employed as a political tool. Conceptions of prowess, loyalty and knightly endeavour were 'weaponised' and redeployed by kings and princes to their own advantage. The secular orders provided a means for rulers to use chivalry to advance or defend their political ambitions and unite the aristocracy in common cause, and, because the ethic formed part of a common language for the European secular elite, these foundations also offered kings and princes potential advantages in matters of national and international diplomacy. The creation and expansion of the secular orders provide a clear indication of the growing influence of kings and princes over and within chivalric culture throughout Christendom. Because of this influence, as the priorities of 'sovereigns' (masters of orders) altered over the course of the later middle ages so too the character of these orders changed, as did the uses to which they were put.

Their Political, Diplomatic and Military Significance', in *Philippe de Mézières and his Age: Piety and Politics in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. R. Blumenfeld-Kosinski and K. Petkov (Leiden, 2012), pp. 321–48.

[3] *Joan of Arc: La Pucelle*, ed. and trans. C. Taylor (Manchester, 2006), pp. 74–6.

[4] N. Housley, '*Pro deo et patria mori*: Sanctified Patriotism in Europe 1400–1600', in *War and Competition between States*, ed. P. Contamine (Oxford, 2000), pp. 221–8, esp. pp. 221–2; N. Housley, 'France, England, and the "National Crusade", 1302–1386', in *France and the British Isles in the Middle Ages and Renaissance: Essays by Members of Girton College, Cambridge in Memory of Ruth Morgan*, ed. G. Jondorf and D. N. Dumville (Woodbridge, 1991), pp. 183–98.

The new institutions, therefore, were distinct from earlier knightly (crusading) confraternities in both purpose and character. Their members did not take holy orders – they remained laymen and were not subject to a 'Rule' – although meetings often had distinct religious connotations and knights were required to maintain a certain code of behaviour determined by a series of statutes. A closer comparison lies with the various lay confraternities and craft guilds that developed from the thirteenth century in considerable numbers throughout Europe. This is evident in the focus given by many orders to particular forms of religious observation and the overt concern their members showed for the care of the souls of deceased comrades.[5]

The development of the secular orders also brought about new and more clearly defined roles for various officers of arms such as heralds. The later middle ages saw a greater use of increasingly sophisticated heraldry to denote aristocratic status. As this process suggests, the right to bear arms supplanted the taking of knighthood as an indication of membership of the secular elite in much of Europe. In England, for example, the esquire and gentleman became part of the armigerous classes even though they were not knights. Many chivalric foundations came to be provided with their own herald and these officials, like the orders themselves, could also be used to symbolise and enhance royal power. Heralds could also exercise some authority over individuals outside the ranks of the secular orders, especially those of the lesser aristocracy whose status distinctions became increasingly subtle in the fifteenth century and whose arms the heralds catalogued. For this reason, between 1415 and 1417, Henry V introduced the position of Garter, Principal King of Arms, whose role was to oversee all armorial issues throughout England.[6]

Among the most significant of these princely orders were the following: the Hungarian Fraternal Society of Knighthood of St George (founded 1325/26), the Castilian Order of the Band (1330), the English Order/Company of the Garter (1348), the French Company of the Star (1352), the Neapolitan Order of the Knot (1352), the (German) Imperial Order of the Golden Buckle (1355), the Cypriot Order of the Sword (1359), the Savoyard Order of the Collar (1363), the Burgundian Order of the Golden Fleece (1430/31), and the Angevin Order of the Crescent (1448). Orders such as these differed considerably in size and the length of their existence, but shared a number of features including lavish ceremonial, ornate dress regulations, and, most significantly, the possession of a series of statutes that governed membership and conduct. Many orders possessed their own chapels and were associated with particular religious festivals

[5] M. Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven and London, 1984), p. 181.

[6] J. W. Armstrong, 'The Development of the Office of Arms in England, *c.* 1413–1485', in *The Herald in Late Medieval Europe*, ed. K. Stevenson (Woodbridge, 2009), pp. 10–11, 15–16, 28; Keen, *Chivalry*, pp. 134–42.

or figures such as a patron saint. Of the earliest foundations, the Garter and the Star are most significant and the differences in their composition and longevity reveal a great deal about this chivalric phenomenon.

Edward III (r. 1327–77) founded the Order of the Garter in 1348. Plans had been well underway for the development of a Plantagenet chivalric fraternity some years prior to this. At least as early as 1344, the king had been contemplating a highly grandiose 'Arthurian' organisation, the Round Table, with impressive buildings under construction at Windsor for its 300 potential members. This scheme, however, was superseded by one for a smaller, more selective Order dedicated to St George.[7] This evolution took place after the spectacular successes of 1346–47 which saw the victories against the 'auld enemies' of Scotland and France at the battles of Neville's Cross and Crécy, and the capture of the port town of Calais. These were the first English military achievements of real note in the Hundred Years War (1337–1453) and the king was determined that they should be celebrated.[8]

The Order comprised only twenty-six members, including Edward himself as sovereign and the heir-apparent, his eldest son, Edward the Black Prince (d. 1376). The remaining knights were chosen from among the king's comrades in arms. Many of the founder knights served in the king's household, and almost all were closely associated with his campaigns, most especially the triumphs at Crécy and Calais. They were not all, however, among the most politically significant members of the Anglo-Gascon secular elite. Not all those who came to comprise the parliamentary peerage, for example, would also be elected to a stall in St George's chapel, Windsor, where the Order made its spiritual home. Membership was dependent, initially at least, on chivalric and military achievement as Edward hoped to link together the aristocratic community as a whole in common cause in support of his kingship and his campaign against France. The Garter motto, *Honi soit qui mal y pense* ('shame on he who thinks ill of it'), referred, most probably, to Edward's continental aspirations and his claims to French lordship. The use of 'blue', the French royal colour, for the Order's robes was also significant in this regard, while the Garter insignia itself probably represented a miniature sword-belt and as such emphasised knightly status and martial prowess.[9]

[7] On St George as patron of England and the Garter see J. Good, *The Cult of St George in Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2009), pp. 62–94; S. Riches, *St George: Hero, Martyr and Myth* (Stroud, 2005), pp. 106–39.

[8] W. M. Ormrod, *Edward III* (New Haven and London, 2011), pp. 299–308.

[9] H. Collins, *The Order of the Garter, 1348–1461: Chivalry and Politics in Late Medieval England* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 11–30; Boulton, *Knights of the Crown*, pp. 127–8; J. Munby, R. Barber and R. Brown, *Edward III's Round Table at Windsor* (Woodbridge, 2007), esp. pp. 77–99; P. Coss, *The Knight in Medieval England, 1000–1400* (Stroud, 1993), pp. 91, 100.

The Order, therefore, served as a manifestation of Edward III's ambitions to restore/extend Plantagenet power in France and it also provided a means for him to harness the chivalric ethic throughout his dominions by ensuring the highest recognition to which a knight could aspire was in the royal gift. In this way, the Garter established a new elite at the apex of Plantagenet society – a fraternity in which members were bound to the king and each other by ties of loyalty with a shared mission and a common culture. The Order also served as a perpetual chivalric memorial to Edward III and his companions, and, as such, it was at the heart of a wider project – after the nadir of Edward II's reign (1307–27) English kingship needed to be rebranded and the Garter offered one way in which the monarchy could gild itself with a refurbished chivalric glamour.[10]

Meetings of the Order on St George's Day (23 April) emphasised this. These gatherings, usually at Windsor, sometimes involved tournaments and it is possible that the Order's members comprised two jousting teams, one to be led by the king, the other by the heir-apparent.[11] Even though the lance and the cavalry charge were now proving somewhat ineffectual on the battlefield (as seen in engagements such as Bannockburn in 1314, Halidon Hill in 1333, and Crécy in 1346) traditional military skills and those who employed them were still valued and it was important that they were seen to be valued. In such meetings of the Garter, valour and skill-at-arms were displayed in the company of fellow members of the elite and presented before the public, which served to ensure the continuing validity of the chivalric community. However, while such celebrations marked an important annual moment in the life of the Order, the religious rituals centred on St George's chapel continued throughout the year and may well have been more significant. Certainly, as time passed and the founder members died, a remarkable commitment began to be made to care for the souls of the deceased through an ongoing series of requiem masses.[12]

The original conception of the Order as a 'band of brothers' with equality of status for all members did not last long and certain changes are evident even in the later stages of Edward III's reign. Practices in the Order began to reflect the growing complexity of the aristocracy in the country at large and an increasingly sophisticated hierarchy at court. Consequently, differences in Garter robes started to indicate 'superior status' within the Order, and a sense emerged of 'majestic distance' by which the king, no longer *primus inter pares*, was to be

[10] N. Saul, *For Honour and Fame: Chivalry in England, 1066–1500* (London, 2011), pp. 93–114; W. M. Ormrod, 'For Arthur and St George: Edward III, Windsor Castle and the Order of the Garter', in *St George's Chapel, Windsor in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. N. Saul (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 17–34; J. Vale, 'Image and Identity in the Prehistory of the Order of the Garter', in *ibid.* , pp. 35–50.

[11] J. Barker, *The Tournament in Medieval England, 1100–1400* (Woodbridge, 1986), p. 95.

[12] R. Barber, *Edward III and the Triumph of England: The Battle of Crécy and the Company of the Garter* (London, 2013), pp. 277–92.

distinguished from other members.[13] Richard II (r. 1377–99) would continue this process and he also made a significant, although relatively short-lived, change to the Order with the admission of ladies to the Garter. Because such noblewomen were supernumerary members, their numbers were not restricted by the Order's statutes and the king could use this reward with some freedom. It was a practice that had political implications since the grant of Garter robes might be made not only to honour a particular lady but also to win her husband's favour.[14]

The Order soon gained a considerable reputation, and as it did so successive monarchs recognised that membership of the Garter could be used to further their political ambitions abroad as well as at home. Consequently, men such as Jean IV, duke of Brittany (d. 1399), Duke William I of Guelders (d. 1402), Emperor Sigismund (r. 1433–37), and King Juan I of Portugal (r. 1385–1433) were invited to take up membership. In a similar fashion, Henry V knighted his captive, King James I of Scotland (r. 1406–27), at Windsor on St George's Day in 1421. Although James was not made a knight of the Garter, this was a clear attempt to use chivalry to secure the young king's loyalty.[15] Influenced by this, James adopted a similar policy on his return to Scotland in 1424, as David II (r. 1329–71) had done some seventy years earlier. Both were encouraged by their time in English captivity to use chivalry as a means of promoting loyalty to the crown.[16]

Such relationships were not to be entered into lightly. Membership of chivalric organisations such as the Garter had serious implications because of the emphasis placed on loyalty to the master of the order. In certain circumstances, therefore, because of conflicting political priorities, an offer of membership might be refused. In 1424, despite his alliance with England, Philippe the Good, duke of Burgundy (d. 1467), declined Garter membership for fear it might compromise his political independence. For similar reasons, Enguerrand de Coucy (d. 1397), Edward III's son-in-law, surrendered his membership of the Order in

[13] W. M. Ormrod, 'The Foundation and Early Development of the Order of the Garter in England, 1348–1399', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 50 (2016), pp. 368–9.

[14] J. L. Gillespie, 'Richard II: Chivalry and Kingship', in *The Age of Richard II*, ed. J. L. Gillespie (Stroud, 1997), pp. 130–3.

[15] M. Vale, *War and Chivalry: Warfare and Aristocratic Culture in England, France, and Burgundy at the End of the Middle Ages* (Athens GA, 1981), pp. 34, 36, 39–42.

[16] M. Penman, *David II* (Edinburgh, 2004), pp. 150–1; K. Stevenson, *Chivalry and Knighthood in Scotland, 1424–1513* (Woodbridge, 2006), pp. 2, 170–9. Despite the clear appeal of chivalry to Scottish kings, it is noteworthy that they did not found their own chivalric order in this period: see K. Stevenson, 'The Unicorn, St Andrew and the Thistle: Was there an Order of Chivalry in Late Medieval Scotland?' *Scottish Historical Review* 83 (2004), pp. 3–22.

August 1377; so too did the Aragonese mercenary captain, François de Surienne (d. 1462) in 1449.[17]

The conclusion of the Hundred Years War and the vicissitudes of the Wars of the Roses saw differing political considerations influencing the membership of the Garter. Henry VI (r. 1422–61/1470–71) had shown little interest in the Order throughout his reign and so it provided an opportunity for Edward IV (r. 1461–70/1471–83) to distinguish the new Yorkist regime from its Lancastrian predecessor. This became particularly evident with the construction of the new chapel of St George at Windsor which he began in 1473.[18] In a similar fashion, Henry VII (r. 1485–1509) sought to turn the Order to his own dynastic advantage. He did so not only through the choice of members but also symbolically by adding a collar to the Garter insignia which combined chivalric and Tudor iconography.[19] Even though the character of chivalry and certain military aspects of aristocratic identity altered further in the sixteenth century, membership of the Garter remained a signal honour, a significant reward, and a powerful tool of political control.

In France, like Edward III, Jean II (r. 1350–64) had been contemplating founding a chivalric order for some time before the Company of Our Lady of the Noble House finally took shape in 1351/52. As early as 1344, Jean, then duke of Normandy, had submitted a proposal to the papacy for the establishment of a secular order supported by a college of canons. Further spurred by the disaster of Crécy and the defections to the Plantagenets of noblemen such as Robert d'Artois (d. 1342) and Geoffroi de Harcourt (d. 1356), as well as the dangerous independence of princes including Charles 'the Bad' of Navarre (d. 1387), the new king saw the potential of using the chivalric ethic to draw together the military aristocracy in common cause and in support of the Valois dynasty, which was still in its infancy. More commonly known as the Company of the Star, the Order, like the Garter, was designed to provide the crown with a means of

[17] D. Green, *The Hundred Years War: A People's History* (New Haven and London, 2014), pp. 36–7.

[18] Although Edward IV sought to return the Order to its original principles, namely that the Garter should constitute a fraternity of equal status whose members were chosen on account of chivalric worth, broader political issues and international diplomatic concerns soon took precedence. Matters of social status also had to be taken into account and new knights tended to be drawn from the same social ranks as their deceased predecessor. See B. Daw, 'Elections to the Order of the Garter in the Reign of Edward IV, 1461–83', *Medieval Prosopography* 19 (1998), pp. 187–92; A. F. Sutton and L. Visser-Fuchs, '"Chevalerie … in some partie is worthi forto be comendid, and in som part to ben amendid": Chivalry and the Yorkist Kings', in *St George's Chapel, Windsor in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. C. Richmond and E. Scarff (Windsor, 2001), pp. 125–9.

[19] S. Gunn, *Henry VII's New Men and the Making of Tudor England* (Oxford, 2016), pp. 22–3.

melding chivalry with royal policy, and this is reflected in the Company's motto, *Monstrant regibus astra viam* ('The stars show kings the way').[20]

Members of the Star were directed in their conduct not only by the Company's statutes but also by a number of works composed by Geoffroi de Charny (d. 1356), one of the most celebrated knights of the age. Charny's military career in French service began in 1337 and he soon gained a reputation as one of the pre-eminent warriors in the realm: Jean Froissart (d. *c.* 1405) described him in his *Chroniques* as 'le plus preudomme et le plus vaillant de tous les autres' ('the most worthy and valiant of them all').[21] He fought in the crusade of Humbert II of Viennois in 1345 and was granted the honour of bearing the Oriflamme, the French royal banner, in 1347 – he would do so again at the battle of Poitiers (1356) where he lost his life. A member of the royal council, Charny was also active in matters of diplomacy. His value to the French monarchy was evident when Jean II contributed 12,000 *écus* towards his ransom after Charny had been captured in 1350 in an attempt to recapture Calais. Around this time, Charny began work on a number of chivalric treatises of which the *Livre de chevalerie* (*c.* 1350–52) is most significant. The 'Book of Chivalry' set the moral and martial tone for the new Company of the Star. The work is both aspirational and exhortatory, while at the same time a practical military guide.[22]

The new chivalric Order and Charny's works together formed part of a reform programme Jean II instituted after the military setbacks of the first phase of the Hundred Years War and the defections of leading nobles. In its conception, if not in its final form, the Star appears a pragmatic foundation. Like the Garter it included knights of all ranks, but its size was such that it sought to be an inclusive association rather than an exclusive fraternity. Given the context in which it was founded this is understandable. The need to galvanise the chivalry of France was acute in the context of the defeats of 1346–47. Consequently, Companions (as well as the other readers of Charny's *Livre*) were encouraged, regardless of status, to undertake deeds of prowess in the defence of France and in the service of the sovereign.[23] Members of the Star took oaths not to retreat from battle after their banners or pennons were unfurled. It may have been for this reason that so many aristocratic casualties were suffered at the battles of Mauron (1352) and Poitiers. Loyalty to the Valois was also emphasised through the requirement that knights were not permitted to be members of other orders.

Sited just north of Paris at the royal manor of Saint-Ouen-lès-Saint-Denis, later renamed the *Noble Maison*, the Company's headquarters were located

[20] Boulton, *Knights of the Crown*, p. 204.
[21] Jean Froissart, *Oeuvres*, ed. K. de Lettenhove, 28 vols (Brussels, 1867–77), V, p. 412.
[22] See *The Book of Chivalry of Geoffroi de Charny: Text, Context, and Translation*, ed. and trans. R. W. Kaeuper and E. Kennedy (Philadelphia, 1996), esp. pp. 3–18, 48–64.
[23] R. W. Kaeuper, *Medieval Chivalry* (Cambridge, 2016), pp. 137–8.

between the capital and the abbey of Saint-Denis, both symbolic sites of French royal power. Jean II spent lavishly expanding the manor's facilities – a great deal of space was required for the 500 knights whom he intended would comprise the Company.[24] Improvements centred on the hall and chapel: like the Garter and other orders such as the duke of Burgundy's Golden Fleece, the Star used religious ceremonies to inculcate a sense of fraternity. The chronicler Jean le Bel (d. 1370) recorded that the Company of the Star also had clear Arthurian connotations:

> … at least once a year [he tells us] the king would hold a plenary court which all the companions [of the Star] would attend and where each would recount all his adventures – the shameful as well as the glorious – that had befallen him since he had last been at the noble court; and the king would appoint two or three clerks to listen to these adventures and record them all in a book so that they should be reported each year in front of all the companions, so that the most valiant should be known and those honoured who most deserve it.[25]

The records of these adventures were to be used in the annual election to the 'Table d'onnour'. The three most worthy princes, three bannerets and three bachelors would be chosen to sit at the 'Table' during the annual banquet, creating a group reminiscent of the Nine Worthies.[26]

However, the Company must be adjudged a failure. Only 100 knights attended the first meeting on 6 January 1352. The Company also failed to unite the aristocracy. Tensions in the wider French polity made it very difficult to elect replacements for deceased members. Consequently, rather than forming a means to resolve political differences, the foundation provided a forum in which they could foment. The catastrophic loss of life of knights of the Star at Mauron and subsequently at Poitiers brought about the effective end of the Company. Jean II may have hoped to revive the organisation afterwards and while in captivity in England after Poitiers he commissioned two rings to be made bearing the device of the Star. The king's death in 1364 ensured that this revival never took place.[27]

The collapse of the Company, however, did not result in the disappearance of the secular orders in France. On the contrary, many of the princes of the French Blood Royal founded their own associations including Bourbon (the Golden

[24] Boulton, *Knights of the Crown*, pp. 181, 184–5, 197.

[25] *The True Chronicles of Jean le Bel, 1290–1360*, ed. and trans. N. Bryant (Woodbridge, 2011), p. 217; E. Kennedy, 'Geoffroi de Charny's *Livre de Chevalerie* and the Knights of the Round Table', in *Medieval Knighthood V: Papers from the sixth Strawberry Hill Conference*, ed. S. Church and R. Harvey (Woodbridge, 1995), pp. 224–42.

[26] C. Taylor, *Chivalry and the Ideals of Knighthood in France during the Hundred Years War* (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 57–8, 64–5, 98.

[27] Taylor, *Chivalry and the Ideals of Knighthood*, pp. 35, 162, 181; Boulton, *Knights of the Crown*, pp. 167–210.

Shield, 1367–1410?), Orléans (Porcupine or Camail, 1394–1498) and Brittany (Ermine, 1381–1532?). Of these 'secondary' foundations, the most successful by far was the Burgundian Order of the Golden Fleece, which Duke Philippe the Good (d. 1467) founded in January 1430.

The foundation and development of the Golden Fleece is a clear indication of the political ambitions of the dukes of Burgundy and reflects specific circumstances in their dominions. In some respects, it took inspiration from existing foundations. It resembled the Garter in the size of its membership – initially it consisted of twenty-four knights excluding the duke, although this soon increased to thirty and then fifty. Its general aims, as stated in the foundation charter, were also familiar: 'To do reverence to God and to uphold the Christian faith, and to honour and increase the noble order of chivalry.'[28] St Andrew, patron saint of Burgundy, was an obvious choice for the religious focus of the Order, although why Philippe decided upon the symbol of the Golden Fleece remains a matter of conjecture. The meeting-place of the Order varied in its first years: members gathered at Lille, Bruges, Ghent, Arras and elsewhere, but it later became fixed in the chapel of the ducal palace at Dijon. As with other associations, religious ceremonies became a key feature of the Order's meetings and requiem masses for deceased members seem to have been a key aspect of the devotions of the knights of the Golden Fleece.

The Order's statutes, however, provide a better indication of precisely what Philippe hoped it might accomplish. They emphasise the need for knights to demonstrate exclusive loyalty to the duke and they were to abandon membership of all other such organisations. In later years exceptions had to be made to this rule for emperors, kings and others who might be sovereigns of their own orders and could hardly be expected to resign from them. It is clear that successive dukes wished to use membership of the Order to promote their own military and political ambitions beyond the borders of Burgundy and to consolidate alliances with other European rulers and neighbouring princes. This is particularly evident in 1440 when four French princes were elected together – representatives of the houses of Orléans, Comminges, Brittany and Alençon. However, it was also just as important to use membership of the Golden Fleece to ensure peace within the disparate lands that comprised the duchy and county of Burgundy. The Order provided a means to overcome political, geographical and linguistic divisions among the nobility of the different Burgundian territories by creating a sense of corporate identity and singleness of purpose as well as binding them more closely to the 'sovereign'. This was evident in the Order's insignia which incorporated the duke's personal livery collar (flint and fire-steel, striking sparks). The close association between membership and service to the

[28] R. Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry* (Woodbridge, rev. edn 1995), p. 348.

duke is also evident in the provision that Burgundian members of the Order were to be paid for military service and were to be informed, when possible, of any intentions to wage war. They were not to absent themselves from Burgundy for extended periods without prior approval. Together, the knights of the Golden Fleece formed a kind of Burgundian peerage. Internal conflict within the Order was to be minimised and the duke sought to use his position as sovereign to resolve disputes and discipline members.[29]

Unlike the Golden Fleece, many other French princely orders were short-lived, as noted above. This was certainly the case with René d'Anjou's Crescent (Croissant), which he founded in 1448 and that died with him in 1480. Like the Garter, the Order was dedicated to a warrior saint, in its case St Maurice, and meetings involved elaborate rituals in Angers cathedral. As with the Star, the deeds of members were to be recorded and remembered by the Order's herald. The Crescent's statutes carry connotations of brotherhood-in-arms arrangements in the requirement that members pay for each other's ransoms and support the dependents of fallen comrades. And, as with all such organisations, the Order had its political purposes: its membership chiefly comprised René's major vassals and supporters and so was designed to enhance their loyalty to him. It was one of few means by which the duke's scattered subjects might be bound together politically. The Order also appears to have been developed with his ambitions in Italy in mind. The motto, *Los en Croissant* ('increasing honour' or 'honour in increasing'), was written on the crescent badge worn by members under the right arm and served as a clear declaration of Angevin territorial objectives.[30]

Johan Huizinga viewed the chivalric orders as a somewhat bizarre social experiment. Part of the 'play element' central to medieval chivalry, he believed they formed little more than an anachronistic attempt to indulge a waning military cadre.[31] More recently, scholars have taken a very different approach, arguing that in spite of changing circumstances in the later middle ages, '[c]hivalry [remained] one of the principal methods through which a king expressed his royal image, magnificence and ambitions'. Within this context, the secular orders provide a clear indication of the 'fusion [that took place] between … chivalric

[29] R. Vaughan, *Philip the Good: The Apogee of Burgundy* (Woodbridge, new edn 2002), p. 161; Vale, *War and Chivalry*, pp. 35, 39–45.

[30] M. T. Reynolds, 'René of Anjou, King of Sicily, and the Order of the Croissant', *Journal of Medieval History* 19 (1993), pp. 125–61; O. J. Margoli, *The Politics of Culture in Quattrocento Europe: René of Anjou in Italy* (Oxford, 2016), pp. 51–61.

[31] J. Huizinga, *The Autumn of the Middle Ages*, trans. R. J. Payton and U. Mammitzsch (Chicago, 1996), pp. 92–7; J. Huizinga, *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play-Element in Culture* (London, 1949), pp. 64, 103.

ideals and [a] monarch's political aims'.[32] The political turmoil of the later middle ages provided rulers with further motivation to seek new ways to exert control over their key vassals. The foundation of the secular orders is, therefore, an indication of the continuing vibrancy of chivalry as well as the political value it retained for members of the aristocratic elite.

Nonetheless, the orders also reflect the changing character of chivalry in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It would be unfair to say that the initial idealism of the orders declined over time and this reflected a broader 'decline of chivalry'.[33] But there is also no doubt that the conception of these organisations as fraternities of knights who regarded themselves as brothers-in-arms, i.e. equals, altered as the middle ages were drawing to a close. The process of aristocratic stratification that took place throughout much of western Europe resulting in a greater awareness of a defined social hierarchy also became evident in the ranks of the chivalric orders. When writing for the Company of the Star in 1350–52, Geoffroi de Charny emphasised the importance of military achievement (deeds of arms displayed in tournaments, war, or on crusade) in determining an individual's worth.[34] Such a simple criterion became complicated in the later medieval history of the orders as distinctions in social status between members became increasingly pronounced and new political imperatives came to the fore.[35] But then, the secular orders had not come to prominence only because they offered a stage for the performance of militaristic and chivalric qualities but also since they offered kings and princes opportunities 'to manipulate the social and political aspirations of the secular elite'.[36] They continued to do so and continued to provide a stage for the demonstration of the power of the secular elite. Therefore, despite changes in military practice and in the structure of aristocracies, a number of secular orders remained of crucial importance in the cultural and political life of the chivalry of Europe.

[32] K. Stevenson, 'Chivalry, British Sovereignty and Dynastic Politics: Undercurrents of Antagonism in Tudor-Stewart Relations, *c.* 1490–*c.* 1513', *Historical Research* 86 (2013), pp. 606, 608, 611, 613.

[33] R. Kilgour, *The Decline of Chivalry as Shown in the French Literature of the Late Middle Ages* (Cambridge MA, 1937).

[34] For examples of the mantra *qui plus fait, mieux vault* ('he who achieves most is the most worthy') see Charny, *Book of Chivalry*, pp. 87, 93, 95, 97, 99.

[35] On aristocratic stratification in England and France see P. Coss, *The Origins of the English Gentry* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 216–38; P. Contamine, 'France at the End of the Middle Ages: Who was then the Gentleman?', in *Gentry and Lesser Nobility in Late Medieval Europe*, ed. M. Jones (Gloucester, 1986), pp. 200–16; C. Given-Wilson, *The English Nobility in the Late Middle Ages: The Fourteenth-Century Political Community* (London, 1996), pp. 53–9, 66, 69–73; P. S. Lewis, *Later Medieval France: The Polity* (London, 1968), pp. 173–7.

[36] Ormrod, 'For Arthur and St George', pp. 13–14.

4

The Military Orders

HELEN J. NICHOLSON

The military orders are best known as knights: the Knights Templar, Knights Hospitaller, Teutonic Knights, Knights of Santiago and so on. Their houses resembled knightly residences, castles or manor houses, and their leading officials used heraldic insignia. Yet during the middle ages the majority of their members were not knights but 'servientes' or 'serjans' – 'serving brothers' or 'sergeant-brothers'– who might be warriors but did not hold knightly rank. The bulk of their recruits came not from the high nobility but from lesser knightly, gentry and burgess families.[1] These Latin Christian institutions also included priests and sisters among their full members and married men and women of every social rank among their associates. Arguably, then, they were not primarily chivalric, but resembled other new religious movements of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries such as the regular canons and friars – except that most of their members were not priests.

Nevertheless, the knight-brothers were always the most visible and best-known group within these orders. Contemporaries called them 'a new knighthood' and claimed that they had restored 'the order of knights' to its proper role in society.[2] It is not clear, however, whether their impact on the development of chivalry was as substantial as such assertions suggest.

In his study *Chivalry*, Maurice Keen considered how it was influenced by crusading and the military orders that arose from the crusading movement.[3] The military orders offered a form of knighthood that fused ecclesiastical and military ideals but, in Keen's view, they were too monastic and ecclesiastical to have had a significant effect on secular knighthood. The military orders did generalise

[1] A. Forey, 'Recruitment to the Military Orders (Twelfth to Mid-Thirteenth Centuries)', *Viator* 17 (1986), pp. 139–71, at pp. 143–7.

[2] Bernard of Clairvaux, 'Liber ad milites Templi de laude novae militiae', in *S. Bernardi Opera*, ed. J. Leclercq, C. Talbot and H. M. Rochais, 8 vols (Rome, 1963), III, pp. 205–39; translated as 'In Praise of the New Knighthood' by C. Greenia, *The Works of Bernard of Clairvaux*, VII: *Treatises III* (Kalamazoo, MI, 1977), pp. 127–67; *Cartulaire Général de l'ordre du Temple, 1119?–1150*, ed. le Marquis d'Albon (Paris, 1913), p. 23: no. 31.

[3] M. Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven and London, 1984), p. 49.

'the idea of knighthood as an order'. Yet, tied to the three religious vows of poverty, chastity and obedience, they were cut off from some of the central themes of chivalry, such as the cult of love and the ideal of the solitary knight seeking personal honour, the hero-figure of the secular chivalric romances.[4]

The fictional literature of the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries presented the military orders as an example of Christian knighthood, but mainly to those outside Christendom. Although writers and audiences approved of their vocation, chivalric literature was primarily interested in secular knighthood, depicting it as created by God and pleasing to him without need of ecclesiastical trappings. Knights could serve God better as lay knights than as monks or religious. In this literature military orders existed to serve the interests of lay knights, rather than existing as an end in themselves.[5]

This chapter will begin by considering the origins of the military orders, their purpose and their claim to represent knighthood, then move on to examine their relationship with secular chivalry and the characteristics of their religious chivalry which set them aside from secular knights. Although in some respects the brothers mirrored secular knighthood, their emphasis on community rather than the individual meant that no member of a military order could ever claim the individual prestige of being, like William Marshal – who joined the Templars on his deathbed – the 'plus pre[u]dome / kui unkes fust a nostre tens'.[6]

The military orders first developed in the city of Jerusalem in the early twelfth century, following the capture of that city by the First Crusade in 1099.[7] Their role was to help defend Latin (Catholic) Christian territory and Christians. Although the First Crusade provided the immediate stimulus for the concept of the warrior who fought for God with the Church's blessing, the first military orders developed from the pre-existing model of the military confraternity, an informal group of warriors who took vows of comradeship and agreed to share their gains and losses during a campaign. The difference was that both crusaders

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 49–50.

[5] H. J. Nicholson, *Love, War and the Grail: Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights in Medieval Epic and Romance, 1150–1500* (Leiden, 2001), pp. 235–6.

[6] 'The most doughty man that ever was in our time': *L'Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal, comte de Striguil et de Pembroke, régent d'Angleterre de 1216 à 1219*, ed. P. Meyer (Paris, 1891), I, pp. 1–2, lines 16–17.

[7] On the origins of the military orders see A. Forey, *The Military Orders from the Twelfth to the Early Fourteenth Centuries* (Basingstoke, 1992), pp. 6–43. For studies of the individual orders see, for example, M. Barber, *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple* (Cambridge, 1994); J. Riley-Smith, *The Knights Hospitaller in the Levant, c. 1070–1309* (Basingstoke, 2012); E. Christiansen, *The Northern Crusades*, 2nd edn (Harmondsworth, 1997).

and 'confrères' (members of confraternities) took vows only for a limited time: full members of the military orders took vows for life.

The concept of the Christian warrior went back to the beginnings of Christianity. Although in the Gospels Christ is depicted speaking against violence, for example stating that 'he who lives by the sword shall die by the sword' (Matt. 26: 52), the New Testament also shows that some of Jesus' earliest followers were soldiers. While Christian theologians debated whether a Christian could validly shed blood, warriors believed that God also needs physical war to defend His interests. The martial thought-world which produced epic poetry such as the *Chanson de Roland* and the twelfth- and thirteenth-century French tales of Guillaume d'Orange held that warriors who fought against God's enemies were more valuable to God than monks. There are also Christian saints who were warriors. Although the likes of St George, St Maurice and St Mercurius were not venerated for their fighting skills but for their piety and courageous martyrdoms, it was clear to medieval Christians that a soldier's life could please God.

The initial function of the Templars, named after their base in the supposed Solomon's Temple in Jerusalem (actually the Aqsa mosque), was to keep the roads to Jerusalem safe for pilgrims and to defend Christian territory. Approved by the Church Council of Nablūs in 1120, the Templars received papal approval in 1129 at a Church Council in Troyes, France. In contrast, the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem began as a hospice for poor pilgrims to the holy city. Founded in the third quarter of the eleventh century, in 1113 it received papal recognition as an independent religious institution. By the late 1120s patrons were entrusting it with the care of fortifications and by the 1130s the order was involved in military operations, hiring mercenaries to defend Christian pilgrims travelling the road to Jerusalem.

At the end of the twelfth century a third military religious order was established in the so-called 'crusader kingdom' of Jerusalem: the Hospital of St Mary of the Teutons. Like the Hospital of St John, it developed from a pilgrim hospital, set up by German pilgrims to care for German crusaders at the siege of Acre (1189–91) during the Third Crusade, but subsequently reorganised as a military religious order. Unlike the other two leading military religious orders it always recruited mainly from German speakers. As there was little opportunity for the order to gain territory in the Holy Land, the brothers looked elsewhere. After a short period in Hungary, colonising and developing territory, the order was invited by Duke Conrad of Cujavia-Masovia in Poland to send brothers to defend his northern frontier against the ferocious pagan Prussian tribes. The Teutonic Order quickly became a dominant political and military power in the region, governing its own *Ordenstaat*, a state ruled by religious warriors. After the Mamluk conquest of the kingdom of Jerusalem at the end of the thirteenth century, the Hospitallers also developed their own state on the island of Rhodes.

Further military orders were established in the Latin East, in the Iberian peninsula on the frontier with Islam – perhaps most famously the orders of Santiago and of Calatrava – and in the Baltic region. Clearly the military order was an effective means of recruiting and organising military aid for Latin Christendom against its enemies.

As self-governing ecclesiastical institutions, each military order had a rule setting out its organisation and governing the day-to-day life of its members, fusing chivalric and ecclesiastical interests. The Templars' original rule, approved in January 1129 at the Council of Troyes, referred to a prospective member of the order as 'Christi miles' (knight of Christ), a term long preserved for monks, who fought against evil with prayer and contemplation rather than with physical weapons.[8] This new 'militia' or military group would revive the 'ordo militaris' (the order of fighters, one of the notional three orders of society) whose duty was to defend the poor and churches but who had in recent years been stealing, destroying and killing. When the Templars' rule was translated into the French of northern France, sometime between 1135 and 1139, these Latin terms became the 'chevalier de Crist' (knight of Christ), the 'chevalerie' (knighthood or group of knights) and the 'orde de chevalerie', the order of knighthood, now responsible for defending not only the poor and the Church but also widows and orphans.[9] This translation reveals chivalry developing social responsibilities that would later be familiar to Chrétien de Troyes's Gornemanz de Goorz in *Perceval* or Lady Niniane in the Vulgate *Lancelot*.[10]

The Hospitallers were slow to develop connections with knighthood. A letter of Master Raymond du Puy from before 1124 uses the word 'militamus' (we are fighting) to describe his work in the kingdom of Jerusalem for the honour of God, but he may have meant this in the traditional monastic sense of fighting evil through prayer.[11] The oldest version of the Hospitallers' rule did not

[8] For the 1129 Rule see *Il* Corpus *normativo templare: Edizione dei testi romanzi con traduzione e commento in Italiano*, ed. G. Amatuccio (Galatina, 2009), pp. 404–17: here at p. 404; translated in M. Barber, and K. Bate, *The Templars: Sources Translated and Annotated* (Manchester, 2002), pp. 31–54; here at p. 32. For monastic attitudes to spiritual and physical warfare see K. Allen Smith, *War and the Making of Medieval Monastic Culture* (Woodbridge, 2011).

[9] Amatuccio, *Il* Corpus, p. 2 (I.i, lines 16, 21, 23); translated by J. M. Upton-Ward, *The Rule of the Templars: the French Text of the Rule of the Order of the Knights Templar* (Woodbridge, 1992), p. 19 (clauses 2–3). For the date of this translation see Upton-Ward, *The Rule of the Templars*, p. 12.

[10] *Les Romans de Chrétien de Troyes édités d'après la copie de Guiot (Bibl. nat. fr. 794)*, V: *Le Conte de Graal (Perceval)*, ed. F. Lecoy (Paris, 1981), I, p. 55, lines 1655–60; *Lancelot: Roman en prose du XIIIe siècle*, ed. A. Micha, 9 vols (Geneva, 1978–83), VII, p. 255: XXIa, 16.

[11] *Cartulaire général de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem, 1100–1310*, ed. J. Delaville le Roulx, 4 vols (Paris, 1894–1906), I, pp. 38–9: no. 46.

mention military brothers, nor did documents issued by the grand master in the 1170s.[12] The statutes issued by the Hospital's general chapter in 1182 under grand master Roger des Moulins referred to 'les freres d'armes', the brothers at arms, but there was no reference to knighthood in any form.[13]

It was not until the statutes of the Hospitallers' general chapter of 1206 that references appeared to 'freres chevaliers' (brother knights) and to military equipment, mounts, arms 'et toutes autres choses qui afierent à chevalerie' (and everything else which applies to knighthood).[14] By this time the order was thoroughly associated with knighthood. The statutes laid down that no one should request to be made a knight in the Hospital unless this had been promised to him before he received the order's habit and he was of the age when he might become a knight if he was in secular society. This suggests that many members wanted to become knights and that the possibility of being made a knight within the order might have been an incentive to join. The sons of noble men who had been brought up ('norris') in the house of the Hospital could be made knights in the house when they reached the age of knighthood ('aige de chevalerie') if the master or the commander agreed and the brothers of the house advised it, suggesting that the order was attractive to nobles as a place of education for their sons, where they could receive knighthood.[15]

The introduction to the rule of the Order of Santiago, written in 1173, compares the 'militia' of secular knights with the 'malicia' of their deeds (a pun originally made by Abbot Bernard of Clairvaux in his letter *De laude novae militiae*, 'In praise of the new knighthood', written to the Templars before 1135).[16] The knights of the order are 'milites Spiritus Sancti gratia inspirati', knights inspired by the grace of the Holy Spirit, who – seeing the great danger that threatened Christians – have placed Christ's cross on their breasts and vowed to stop the advance of Christ's enemies and defend the Church.[17] They have given up fighting Christians and abandoned their luxurious clothes and long hair, aspects of secular warriors also noted by Bernard of Clairvaux.[18]

The Templars' 1129 rule allowed brothers to kill what the French translation termed 'the enemies of the cross' without sinning, but it was another two decades

[12] *Cartulaire général*, ed. Delaville le Roulx, I, pp. 62–8, 339–40, 345–7: nos 70, 494, 504.
[13] *Ibid.*, I, pp. 425–9, at 429: no. 627.
[14] *Ibid.*, II, pp. 31–40, at 37–8: no. 1193.
[15] *Ibid.*, II, pp. 31–40, at 38–9, 40: no. 1193.
[16] E. Gallego Blanco, *The Rule of the Spanish Military Order of St James, 1170–1493, Latin and Spanish Texts* (Leiden, 1971), pp. 4, 76 lines 19–20; Bernard of Clairvaux, 'Liber', p. 216 (chapter 2, section 3); translated as 'In Praise of the New Knighthood', p. 132.
[17] *Ibid.*, pp. 78–9, lines 47–54.
[18] *Ibid.*, pp. 78–9, lines 55–9; Bernard of Clairvaux, 'Liber', p. 216 (chapter 2, section 3); translated as 'In Praise of the New Knighthood', pp. 132–3.

or so before they set down detailed instructions about military organisation.[19] The Order of Santiago included such specific instructions from the first. Brothers must continue warfare against the infidel even during fasts, and the 'knights of Christ' are exhorted to 'put on the armour of light' ('indumini armis lucis' – an allusion to Rom. 13: 12) and never cease protecting their brothers, neighbours and the Catholic Mother Church. Brothers must take care not to weaken their bodies by fasting: 'multo melius est defendere quam ieiunare' – it is much better to defend than fast, a sentiment with which the epic hero Guillaume d'Orange would have agreed.[20]

Between the Templars' 1129 rule and the rule of the Order of Santiago lay over four decades of experience in developing the guidelines a religious knighthood needed to justify its existence and operate effectively. By the time that the prologue to the Teutonic Order's rule was composed, in the middle decades of the thirteenth century, the chivalric basis of the order was being justified on the lines of the chivalric myths of secular knighthood.[21] The prologue explains that the origins of the military order lie in the Old Testament with the patriarch Abraham who fought to rescue Lot and gave gifts to the king-priest Melchizedek. This was the beginning of the knighthood of believers fighting unbelievers.[22] This knighthood is both heavenly and earthly: it seeks to avenge Christ's cross and fight against the heathen for the Holy Land. It fulfils the prophecy of St John the Divine, who saw a new knighthood come from heaven. It continues the tradition of Moses and Joshua, 'die Gotes rittere waren' – who were God's knights, fighting the heathen – and of King David and of the Maccabees, who were knights fighting for God, who cleansed the holy places and restored peace to the land. The Teutonic Order is a 'heilige ritterliche orden', a holy knightly order, whose brothers fight to defend the holy land and who are full of charity, caring for guests, pilgrims and the poor and serving the sick in their hospital.[23] The regulations which follow emphasise that the order is both a hospital and a 'ritterschaft', an order of knights.[24] As this was a knighthood founded against the

[19] Amatuccio, *Il* Corpus, p. 32 (I.41), p. 414 (clause 49); Upton-Ward, *Rule*, p. 33 (clause 57), p. 13 for date of military statutes; Barber and Bate, *The Templars*, p. 47 (clause 48). For military organisation in the Templars' regulations see M. Bennett, '*La Règle du Temple* as a Military Manuel or How to Deliver a Cavalry Charge', in Upton-Ward, *Rule*, pp. 175–88.

[20] Gallego Blanco, *Rule of the Order of St James*, pp. 94–7 (clauses 9–10, at line 301); *Les deux rédactions en vers du Moniage Guillaume, chansons de geste du XIIe siècle*, ed. W. Cloetta (Paris, 1906), I, pp. 66, 72–3, laisses 9 and 14, lines 510–21, 637–46.

[21] For example, see the chivalric history set out in *Lancelot*, ed. Micha, VII, pp. 255–6, XXIa, 19, which also mentions Judas Maccabaeus and King David.

[22] *Die Statuten des Deutschen Ordens nach den Ältesten Handscriften*, ed. M. Perlbach (Halle a. S., 1890), p. 23, lines 28–30 (Deutsche Handschriften).

[23] *Ibid.*, pp. 24–6, clauses 3–4 (Deutsche Handschriften).

[24] *Ibid.*, pp. 30, 31, 34, clauses 2, 4, 6.

enemies of the Cross and faith, which has to fight in many different lands with many different weapons against many different enemies, the brothers should be provided with everything that belongs to knighthood.[25]

Yet although the military orders' rules and regulations referred to knighthood ('militia', 'chevalerie' or 'ritterschaft') and included specific instructions about military organisation, the overall tone was religious rather than secular. These rules were heavily influenced by the so-called Rule of St Augustine, whose regulations for community life were those most often followed by medieval hospitals and houses of priests who – like the brothers of the military orders – did not live in an enclosed house but had regular contact with the outside world.[26] The military orders' rules followed the same themes as the Rule of St Augustine, with all property held in common, members praying together, having plain clothing and simple food, avoiding close contact with members of the opposite sex, and avoiding quarrels. In addition, thirty of the seventy-two clauses in the Templars' 1129 rule included word-for-word extracts from the most famous monastic rule, the Rule of St Benedict.[27]

The military orders' regulations required their brother-knights to live together in peace and fraternal charity, each helping the others and without rivalry, boasting and in-fighting.[28] Antisocial behaviour that could be typical of knights was forbidden. A brother who got drunk after a warning would lose his habit.[29] A brother who deliberately wounded another Christian with a weapon so that he bled, or who 'sinned with a woman' (*gesundet mit eine wîbe*), would be on penance for a year.[30] Brothers who ran away in battle or disobeyed orders would be severely disciplined.[31]

The military discipline of the military orders was frequently remarked on by their contemporaries, especially in contrast to secular warriors. In his account of King Louis VII's march to the Holy Land during the Second Crusade of 1147–49,

[25] *Ibid.*, pp. 46–7, clause 22.

[26] 'The Rule of Augustine, masculine version', *The Rule of Saint Augustine with introduction and commentary*, intro. and commentary T. J. van Bavel OSA, trans. R. Canning OSA (London, 1984), pp. 11–24.

[27] *The Rule of St Benedict in Latin and English*, ed. and trans. J. McCann OSB (London, 1952). Discussion in Upton-Ward, *Rule*, p. 11.

[28] Amatuccio, *Il* Corpus, pp. 26–8, 32–4, 132 (I.32–3, 44–5, V.11), pp. 413–15, 417 (clauses 43, 50–2, 61, 69); Upton-Ward, *Rule*, pp. 31, 34, 74 (clauses 48–9, 60–1, 234), Barber and Bate, *The Templars*, pp. 46, 48, 50, 53–4, clauses 42, 49–51, 60, 68; Perlbach, *Die Statuten*, pp. 48–9 (clause 26); Gallego Blanco, *Rule of the Order of St James*, pp. 110–13, 130–5, 138–43, 144–5 (clauses 30–4, 52–60, 65–71, 74).

[29] J. Upton-Ward, ed. and trans., *The Catalan Rule of the Templars* (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 18–19, 92–5 (clauses 35, 192); Perlbach, *Die Statuten*, p. 82 (clause 37.8) (Deutsche).

[30] Perlbach, *Die Statuten*, pp. 83–4 (clauses 38.1, 38.6).

[31] Amatuccio, *Il* Corpus, pp. 130, 134 (V.9, 18–20); Upton-Ward, *Rule*, pp. 74–5 (clauses 232, 241–3).

Odo of Deuil described how 'by common counsel' the French crusader army formed a fraternity with the Templars and all swore to obey their commander, keep in their line of march and not flee the field. As a result, the crusader army was able to rout the Turks four times.[32] Ralph of Diss, dean of London, recorded an eyewitness account of the battle of Montgisard (1177) in which the Templars' powerful charge split the ranks of Saladin's army and forced him to flee for his life.[33] The *Tractatus de locis et statu sanctae terrae* ('Tract on the places and state of the Holy Land'), a pilgrim account of the Holy Land written during the period 1167–87, includes a stirring description of the Templars' military role and discipline: they are 'excellent knights' who charge in tight formation, being the first to engage battle with the enemy and the last to retreat, and never giving way; either they destroy the enemy or they die.[34] Oliver Scholasticus, a schoolmaster of Cologne, recording the events of the Fifth Crusade, also described the Templars making a courageous charge which saved the Christian forces from a Muslim attack.[35] Such accounts would not be out of place in a chivalric romance.

The brothers' military reputation so impressed their contemporaries across Catholic Christendom that they showered the military orders with donations of land, income, tax exemptions and legal rights. From the beginnings of the order, knights could join the Templars for a short period as temporary members.[36] Nobles entrusted their sons to the Hospitallers to be educated and knighted.[37] In the fourteenth century, would-be crusaders flocked to Prussia to join the Teutonic Order's 'reisen' (literally: journeys) against the pagan Lithuanians, and in the middle of the century the French noble knight Geoffrey de Charny (d. 1356) listed Prussia as one of the regions where a young knight could make a name for himself.[38] A century later Antoine de la Salle, in his novel *Jehan de Saintré*, made his heroine 'Madame' advise Jehan that a knight who wished to excel in chivalry should travel to Prussia because here he could take part in the most holy and

[32] Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem; The Journey of Louis VII to the East*, ed. and trans. V. Gingerick Berry (New York, 1948), pp. 124–9.

[33] Ralph of Diss, 'Ymagines historiarum', in *The Historical Works of Master Ralph of Diceto*, ed. W. Stubbs, Rolls Series 68, 2 vols (London, 1876), I, pp. 423–4.

[34] B. Z. Kedar, 'The Tractatus de locis et statu sancte terrae ierosolimitanae', in *The Crusades and Their Sources: Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton*, ed. J. France and W. G. Zajac (Aldershot, 1998), pp. 111–33: here pp. 127–8.

[35] Oliver Scholasticus, 'Historia Damiatina', *Die Schriften des Kölner Domscholasters, späteren Bischofs von Paderborn und Kardinelbischofs von S. Sabina, Oliverus*, ed. H. Hoogeweg, Bibliothek des litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart [henceforth BLVS] 202 (Tübingen, 1894), pp. 209–11.

[36] Amatuccio, *Il* Corpus, pp. 407, 411 (clauses 5, 32), pp. 34–5 (I.48, 49); Upton-Ward, *Rule*, p. 35 (clauses 65, 66); Barber and Bate, *The Templars*, pp. 36, 43 (clauses 4, 31).

[37] *Cartulaire général*, ed. Delaville le Roulx, II, p. 40: no. 1193.

[38] A. Piaget, 'Le *livre* Messire Geoffroi de Charny', *Romania* 26 (1897), pp. 394–411, at p. 404, line 333.

honourable conflict against the 'Saracens' (meaning non-Christians, in this case the Lithuanians).[39] The famous French warrior Boucicaut travelled to Prussia to take part in this holy and honourable war, as did the young Henry Bolingbroke (later King Henry IV of England), the kings of Bohemia and Hungary, and many other English, French and German knights, as well as Scots, Italians and knights from the Low Countries.[40] The Teutonic Order encouraged this image of their crusade as the chivalric enterprise *par excellence*, entertaining and feasting their guests after a successful expedition, with a Table of Honour for those knights judged to be most outstanding, and prizes awarded for their prowess in the battlefield. As Maurice Keen commented, this was 'a scene reminiscent (no doubt intentionally) of that great table of legend, King Arthur's Round Table'.[41]

Yet, for its members, a military order was not an Arthurian Round Table. Unlike the Arthurian *chevalier errant*, knight-brothers were not allowed to wander about.[42] Individual acts of heroism were frowned upon: a Hospitaller who charged ahead of his order's banner was ordered to dismount and sent back to his lines in ignominy to await the order's judgement.[43] Strict discipline was kept when on the march; a brother should not even pause to water his horse unless the banner-bearer did so, or he could do so without impeding others.[44] Rather than seeking their own honour and reputation in these institutions, knights who joined the military orders must subjugate their own interests to the service of God in the order.[45] The military orders might encourage secular knights to excel in chivalry, but they themselves were severely limited in their activities.

[39] 'me semble que plus saintement ne honorablement ne le pouez estre que a ce treesaint voaige de Prusse, a celle tressainte bataille qui doit ester a l'encontre des Sarrazins': Antoine de la Salle, *Jehan de Saintré*, ed. J. Misrahi and C. A. Knudson (Geneva, 1978), p. 187, lines 28–32.

[40] Keen, *Chivalry*, pp. 171–4; N. Housley, *The Later Crusades: From Lyons to Alcazar, 1274–1580* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 341–2, 399–402; Christiansen, *The Northern Crusades*, pp. 154–9, 175–6; C. Tyerman, *England and the Crusades, 1095–1588* (Chicago and London, 1988), pp. 268–76; T. Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and the Crusade: The English Experience in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2011), pp. 72–97.

[41] Keen, *Chivalry*, pp. 173–4.

[42] Perlbach, *Die Statuten*, p. 100 (clause 13).

[43] Ambroise, *The History of the Holy War: Ambroise's Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*, ed. and trans. M. Ailes and M. Barber, 2 vols (Woodbridge, 2003), lines 9881–919, I, p. 160, II, pp. 164–5; *Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta regis Ricardi*, ed. W. Stubbs, vol. I of *Chronicle and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I*, Rolls Series 38 (London, 1864), book 5, ch. 51, pp. 371–2, translated by H. J. Nicholson, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade* (Aldershot, 1997), pp. 329–30.

[44] Perlbach, *Die Statuten*, p. 112 (clause 48).

[45] Amatuccio, *Il* Corpus, pp. 376–82 (X.1); Upton-Ward, *Rule*, pp. 168–70 (clauses 658–67); Gallego Blanco, *Rule of the Order of St James*, pp. 148–51; Perlbach, *Die Statuten*, pp. 127–8.

The brothers of the military orders also differed from secular knights in their lack of a family life. Their rules envisaged them living in communities with few or no women or children. The rule of the Teutonic Order stated that children should not normally be received below the age of fourteen.[46] The Templars' 1129 rule did not allow the admission of children, although (like the Hospitallers) the brothers would admit them into the house to be educated and cared for – as the young King James I of Aragon was taken in by the Templars of Monzón for two years after he was sent back to Aragon following his father's death at the battle of Muret in 1213.[47]

The Teutonic Order's rule did not allow women to be admitted as full sisters because their presence could make the male mind 'go soft' ('wirt erweichet'), but women could be employed to look after the sick or care for animals.[48] This was a far cry from the secular knights' view that knights performed greater knightly deeds through serving their ladies.[49] In contrast, the Order of Santiago included married men and women as well as single brothers and sisters, and made provision for the care of their children. However, married couples had to practise chastity on the major feast days or during Lent.[50] The Hospitallers had houses for professed sisters from the 1180s onwards: men and women should be segregated, but in practice segregation was not always put into force. Before 1185 both women and men lived in the Hospitallers' houses in England, and in the 1220s there were brothers and sisters at their house at Hampton in Middlesex.[51] The Templars' 1129 rule stated that women should no longer be admitted, but women were associated with the order and some became full members: for example, in 1198 the Templars' commandery of Rourell in Tarragona was governed by a female commander, Lady Ermengard de Oluya, and in 1307 there was a Templar sister at the commandery of Payns in Champagne, living with her serving maid alongside the brothers.[52] Despite the rule, by the second half of the thirteenth

[46] Perlbach, *Die Statuten*, p. 51 (clause 30).

[47] *Deeds of James I of Aragon: A Translation of the Medieval Catalan Llibre des Fets*, trans. D. Smith and H. Buffery (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 25–9. For other examples see Forey, 'Recruitment', 148–9.

[48] Perlbach, *Die Statuten*, p. 52 (clause 31).

[49] *Le Roman de Brut de Wace*, ed. I. Arnold (Paris, 1940), II, lines 10770–2.

[50] Gallego Blanco, *Rule of the Order of St James*, pp. 82–5, 98–103 (clauses 12–16), 108–9 (clause 25), 130–1 (clause 53).

[51] M. M. Bom, *Women in the Military Orders of the Crusades* (Basingstoke, 2012), p. 80; A. Forey, 'Women and the Military Orders in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', *Studia Monastica* 29 (1987), pp. 63–97, at p. 70.

[52] Amatuccio, *Il* Corpus, p. 414 (clause 54), p. 38 (I.53); Upton-Ward, *Rule*, p. 36 (clause 70); Barber and Bate, *The Templars*, p. 49 (clause 53); F. Tommasi, 'Uomini e donne negli ordini militari di Terrasanta: per il problema della case doppie e miste negli ordini giovannita, templare e teutonico (secc. XII–XIV)', in *Doppelklöster und andere Formen der symbiose männlicher und weiblicher Religiosen in Mittelalter,* ed. K. Elm and M. Parisse

century the Teutonic Order had communities of sisters where the sisters recited the divine office each day and hospitals where women helped to care for the sick and elderly, as well as isolated women living within male communities, and other female associates.[53]

Although they did not exclude women completely from their everyday lives, the only intimate contact that the brothers of a military order should have with a woman was through devotion to female saints. Like their secular contemporaries in the Latin Christian West, their most beloved saint was the Blessed Virgin Mary, mother of Christ, but they also venerated other female saints such as Katherine of Alexandria, Ursula and the eleven thousand virgins, and Barbara.[54] In particular, literature produced for or by the Teutonic knights included works about female saints, including works on Judith, Esther and Barbara, a life of Mary by one Brother Philip (not a member of the order) and an immensely long poem on the life and miracles of St Martina by Brother Hugo von Langenstein (who was a member of the order).[55]

It is easy to assume that in religious orders where all men were celibate, devotion to female saints gave the brothers an outlet for their natural sexual drive.[56] But whether or not the brothers were celibate in practice, these heroines and female martyr saints offered them a valuable spiritual lesson. Displaying essential passive Christian virtues such as chastity, patience, long-suffering, modesty and humility, they stood in strong contrast to the military brothers, best known for the active virtues expected in a warrior: self-confidence, aggression and the desire to seek one's own honour at whatever cost. Such individualistic character traits could damage the community of the military order, undermining discipline in the house and on the battlefield, where the brothers must fight as a unit under the command of their leader, not as a group of independent glory-seekers.

It is clear from the rules of the military orders that forceful military virtues presented a problem. For example, the rule of the Order of Santiago includes

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(Berlin, 1992), pp. 177–202, 1198 charter printed at pp. 201–2; A. Pétel, ed., 'Comptes de régie de la commanderie de Payns, 1307–1308', *Mémoires de la Société d'Agriculture, Sciences et Arts du département de l'Aube* (1907), pp. 283–372, at 292, 333, 338, 359, 360, 362 and note 4, pp. 367, 369, 370.

[53] U. Arnold, 'Die Frau im Deutschen Orden', in *Stationen Einer Hochschullaufbahn: Festschrift für Annette Kuhn zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. U. Arnold, P. Meyers and U. C. Schmidt (Dortmund, 1999), p. 261–76: here p. 254–5.

[54] For what follows, see: H. J. Nicholson, 'Saints Venerated in the Military Orders', in *Selbstbild und Selbstverständnis der geistlichen Ritterorden*, ed. J. Sarnowsky and R. Czaja, Ordines Militares: Colloquia Torunensia Historica XII (Toruń, 2005), pp. 91–113.

[55] K. Helm and W. Ziesemer, *Die Literatur des Deutschen Ritterordens* (Giessen, 1951), pp. 42–7, 71–4; H. von Langenstein, *Martina*, ed. A. von Keller, BLVS 38 (Stuttgart, 1856).

[56] For what follows, see: H. J. Nicholson, 'The Head of St Euphemia: Templar Devotion to Female Saints', in *Gendering the Crusades*, ed. S. Edgington and S. Lambert (Cardiff, 2001), pp. 108–20.

regulations against aggression, with punishments for a brother who kills another brother, his wife or any other Christian. A brother who challenged another to combat and brothers who boasted about their own nobility and disparaged others would be severely punished.[57] These brothers were very much in need of the 'passive' virtues of female virgin saints, to transform them into an effective, unified military force of dedicated religious men.

Just as the secular knight should become a better knight through his service for a lady, devotion to a female saint would have encouraged the brothers of the military orders to seek humility, patience and long-suffering in their everyday lives, to stand firm in their faith, defy the enemy and face martyrdom boldly on the battlefield. The brothers also venerated male military saints such as St George, St Sebastian and the Maccabees, whose lives demonstrated that military men could offer valuable service to God and whose example encouraged them to hold to their faith if they were captured by the enemy, even in the face of torture and death. In honouring female saints rather than secular women, and male military saints rather than outstanding secular knights, the brothers of the military orders pursued a spiritual rather than a secular chivalry. With the exception of the Teutonic Order, their literature was more monastic than chivalric.

For example, the anonymous Anglo-Norman religious writings produced in the second half of the twelfth century for Brother Henry d'Arcy (commander of Temple Bruer in Lincolnshire, England, 1161–74) were on traditional religious rather than military subjects: the 'Lives of the Fathers', the deeds of early Christians; a version of the well-known account of St Paul's descent into Hell; the 'Life' of St Thaïs, the converted prostitute; and an account of the coming of Antichrist.[58] However, the translation of the Old Testament Book of Judges produced during the third quarter of the twelfth century for the leading brothers of the Temple in England, Richard of Hastings and Osto of St Omer, has a more military tone in its account of how the Holy Land was conquered by force.[59]

The Anglo-Norman version of the Hospitallers' rule and foundation legend produced for the English Hospitallers in the 1180s was again a religious rather than a chivalric work, in which salvation is not won through fighting Christ's enemies but through helping the poor and caring for the sick. Nevertheless, Judas Maccabaeus, supposedly an early example of knighthood, is cited as one

[57] Gallego Blanco, *Rule of the Order of St James*, pp. 130–33, 138–9, 140–3 (clauses 52–7, 65, 70–1).

[58] R. C. D. Perman, 'Henri d'Arci: The Shorter Works', in *Studies in Medieval French Presented to Alfred Ewert in Honour of his Seventieth Birthday*, ed. E. A. Francis (Oxford, 1961), pp. 279–321.

[59] *Le Livre des Juges. Les cinq textes de la version française faite au XII siècle pour les chevaliers du Temple*, ed. le Marquis d`Albon (Lyons, 1913).

of the first patrons of the newly founded Hospital.[60] Two Hospitaller documents from Franconia of the first half of the thirteenth century repeated this connection with Judas Maccabaeus.[61] In the year 1300 the Polish Hospitaller brother Johannes von Frankenstein completed a Middle High German verse work entitled *Kreuziger* ('the Crusader'), which retells the life of Christ, the first 'crusader' in the sense that He was the first to bear the cross. The poem emphasises the events of Holy Week, the Last Supper, Christ's arrest and trial and the Crucifixion, but there are no particularly military references.[62]

The Teutonic Order did most to produce a body of chivalric literature. The *Sunden Widerstreit*, written for the brothers of the Teutonic Order at the end of thirteenth or in the early fourteenth century, was an allegory depicting the battle of the knight Virtue in the service of Love against the knight Vice who is in the service of the Devil, with the goal of the battle being mystical union with God.[63] *Maccabäer*, probably written in the 1330s, was a paraphrase and study of the Biblical books of the Maccabees.[64] The order also produced historical works which promoted its military-religious vocation and achievements. The *Livländische Reimchronik* presents the conquest of Livonia in the framework of the epic tradition, while Peter von Dusburg's *Chronicon terrae Prussiae*, written between 1326 and 1331, glorified the brothers' military and spiritual achievements in Prussia. Between 1331 and 1341 this was expanded and translated into German by Nicolaus von Jeroschin. The order's historical-literary tradition continued into the early modern period with chronicles by Wigand of Marburg, Hermann of Wartberge and others. Such works could have been intended to educate the brothers, perhaps by being read aloud at meal times, but also advertised and justified the brothers' work to potential patrons and recruits.[65]

[60] *The Hospitallers* Riwle*: Miracula et Regula Hospitalis Sancti Johannis Jerosolimitani*, ed. K. V. Sinclair, Anglo-Norman Text Society 42 (London, 1984), pp. vii, xlviii, lines 113–32, 460–548.

[61] K. Borchardt, 'Two Forged Thirteenth-Century Alms-Raising Letters used by the Hospitallers in Franconia', in *The Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*, ed. M. Barber (Aldershot, 1994), pp. 52–6, at pp. 53–4, 56.

[62] *Der Kreuziger der Johannes von Frankenstein*, ed. F. Khull, BLVS 160 (Tübingen, 1882), lines 11429–32, 11437–45, 11473–6; summary pp. 414–22.

[63] Helm and Ziesemer, *Die Literatur des Deutschen Ritterordens*, p. 71.

[64] H. Lähnemann, 'The Maccabees as Role Models in the German Order', in *Dying for the Faith, Killing for the Faith: Old-Testament Faith-Warriors (Maccabees 1 and 2) in Cultural Perspective* , ed. G. Signori (Leiden, 2012), pp. 177–93.

[65] *Livländische Reimchronik*, ed. F. Pfeiffer, BLVS 7 (Stuttgart, 1844); Peter von Dusburg, *Chronik des Preussenlandes*, ed. and trans. K. Scholz and D. Wojtecki (Darmstadt, 1984); *The Chronicle of Prussia by Nicolaus von Jeroschin: A History of the Teutonic Knights in Prussia, 1190–1331*, trans. M. Fischer (Farnham, 2010), pp. 4–5, 11–15; Wigand of Marburg, 'Cronica nova Prutenica', ed. T. Hirsch, in *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum*, ed. T. Hirsch, M. Töppen and E. Strehlke (Leipzig, 1863), II, pp. 453–662; Hermmani de Wartberge,

The *Livländische Reimchronik* introduced the 'German house' as an order that cared for the sick as well as being good knights, but the emphasis throughout the rest of the poem is on warfare. The brothers are depicted as courageous warriors of Christ and His Mother (the Virgin Mary), whose main objective was to serve God. They tirelessly spread God's faith, waging war on the heathen and building fortresses. Sometimes God gave them victory against the heathen and sometimes they fought to the death, dying as martyrs.[66]

The emphasis on martial virtues was continued by Peter von Dusburg, who – as in the prologue to the Teutonic Order's rule – pointed out the Old Testament parallels for religious knighthood, with particular reference to King David and the Maccabees. Peter described the construction of castles and the conquest of land, but also stressed religious virtues, visions and miracles. These included an account of how the Teutonic Order obtained its relic of St Barbara, the occasion when a few brothers and other warriors from Elbing put to flight an enormous army of Prussians (who had thought that the whole field was filled with armed men dressed in the brothers' habits), and examples of wooden figures of Christ embracing or blessing brothers as they prayed before the crucifix. Peter noted the particularly holy life of the brothers of Christburg, who lived like monks in the house and like knights in the field – echoing Bernard of Clairvaux's praise of the first Templars. He also noted the brothers' gruesome deaths at the hands of the Prussians, holding these up as martyrdoms. These Teutonic knights are clearly religious warriors, who pray devoutly, attend Mass and retain their chastity as well as risking their lives daily on the battlefield. [67]

As Peter's chronicle was written in Latin it would not have been accessible to most of the brothers of the order. His intended readership may have been other clergy and religious, to justify the Teutonic Order's vocation in the wake of the dissolution of the Templars in 1312. Nicolaus von Jeroschin's German adaptation seems to have been much more popular within the order: it included Peter's stories of the brothers' piety, chastity, courage and martyrdoms, presenting the same image of the brothers as religious warriors, servants of Christ and His Mother.[68] Unlike the heroes of chivalric literature, the Teutonic knights are

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Chronicon Livoniae, ed. E. Strehlke (Leipzig, 1863); Helm and Ziesemer, *Die Literatur des Deutschen Ritterordens*, pp. 136–72; A. V. Murray, 'The Structure, Genre and Intended Audience of the Livonian Rhymed Chronicle', in *Crusade and Conversion on the Baltic Frontier, 1150–1500*, ed. A. V. Murray (Aldershot, 2001), pp. 235–51, at pp. 248–50.

[66] *Livländische Reimchronik*, lines 1850–1, 2596–7, 2603–4, 3259–60, 4520–9, 5658–60, 10686–7, 11936–9.

[67] Peter von Dusburg, *Chronik*, pp. 44–7, 118–19, 138–40, 180–1, 184–5, 188–9, 344–51; Bernard of Clairvaux, 'Liber', pp. 219–21 (chapter 4, sections 7–8); translated as 'In Praise of the New Knighthood', pp. 138–41.

[68] *Nicolaus von Jeroschin*, pp. 10–11, 77 and note 1, 79–80, 94–5, 115–16, 117–18, 124, 129–30, 153, 155, 165, 197, 213–16.

defeated as often as they win, but the results of their battles are ascribed to God's incomprehensible judgement rather than to their own abilities.[69]

It is difficult to tell how far individual knight-brothers absorbed such interpretations. The Hospitallers' regulations from 1262 forbade brothers in the infirmary from reading romances – suggesting that they had been doing so – and noted that some brothers owned romances as well as breviaries and psalters.[70] There is no indication of what these romances were: the term could mean any work in the vernacular, not just chivalric fiction.

Only occasionally do the sources give an insight into how the knight brothers viewed their vocation. During the proceedings against the Templars in London on 17 November 1309, Brother William of Welles, who had been in the order for over twenty-six years, stated that the brothers 'had a precept to do justice to all Christians ('omnibus xpianis faciant iusticiam'), or to every person: the two manuscripts recording his testimony differ.[71] Here we have an echo of secular chivalry, but no other Templar mentioned this interpretation of their role. Others stated that they swore not to be in a place where a Christian was disinherited, or to prevent the disinheritance of Christians, as stated in the Templars' admission ceremony.[72] Their primary concern was to defend the Holy Land rather than to protect individuals. Perhaps Brother William of Welles's view was a personal interpretation of the order's function in the light of contemporary chivalric ideals.

The military orders supported secular chivalry but stood aside from it. Members of a military order could not emulate secular knights in striving for honour: the orders did not give worldly rewards. All brothers were remembered in daily prayers but none was honoured above the rest, either in death or life.[73] The majority of deceased brothers did not receive personalised tombs as memorials.[74] They could not even bequeath their property to their family, because they

[69] *Ibid.*, p. 153.

[70] *Cartulaire général*, ed. Delaville le Roulx, III, p. 52: no. 3039, clauses 39, 42.

[71] *The Proceedings against the Templars in the British Isles*, ed. H. J. Nicholson, 2 vols (Farnham, 2011), MS A fol. 54r (I, p. 103; II, p. 93).

[72] *Ibid.*, MS A fols 12r–v, 15v, 18r, 19v, 22r, 24r, 25r, 33v, 45r, 54r, 55r, 112r, 114v (I, pp. 20–1, 27, 31, 35, 39, 42, 44, 61, 85, 103, 104, 229, 235; II, pp. 21–2, 23, 29, 33, 36, 40, 43, 45, 59, 78, 93, 255, 261); Upton-Ward, *Rule*, pp. 171–2 (clause 676).

[73] Amatuccio, *Il* Corpus, p. 407 (clauses 3, 5) p. 152, lines 18–20, p. 184, lines 24–40 (VII.2, 58–9); Barber and Bate, *The Templars*, pp. 35–6 (clauses 2, 4); Upton-Ward, *Rule*, pp. 83, 99, Gallego Blanco, *Rule of the Order of St James*, pp. 116–17.

[74] A. Luttrell, 'Iconography and Historiography: The Italian Hospitallers before 1530', *Sacra Militia* 2 (2002), pp. 19–46, at pp. 24–6; republished in his *Studies on the Hospitallers after 1306: Rhodes and the West* (Aldershot, 2007), article 17.

had given up their personal property when they entered the order.[75] They lived and died for the glory of God and their order, not for themselves or their lineage.

Of course the brothers did not always live up to these ideals; and because their ideals were high, contemporaries were particularly critical when they fell short. Like secular knights, the military orders' fortunes were always dependent on their patrons, and when a key patron withdrew support (as the king of France withdrew support from the Templars in 1307), all their chivalric ideals could not protect them. The Teutonic Order's Prussian Ordenstaat was at a disadvantage in international diplomacy with secular rulers because its grand master could not make marriage alliances – having neither marriageable children nor personal hereditary rights – and ironically it was a marriage alliance (between Poland and Lithuania in 1385) which was the order's undoing in Prussia. Nevertheless, because they continued to be useful to Christendom and Catholic society, most of the military orders survived the middle ages: in 1640 the English historian Thomas Fuller described the Hospitallers on Malta as 'the bulwark of Christendome to this day, giving dayly evident proof of their courage.'[76]

[75] Upton-Ward, *Rule*, pp. 46, 146–7, 149–50 (clauses 107, 563, 566, 578–80); Amatuccio, *Il* Corpus, pp. 66, 298–300, 308–10 (III.47, VIII.15, 18, 29–30); Gallego Blanco, *Rule of the Order of St James*, pp. 116–17 (clause 38).

[76] T. Fuller, *The Historie of the Holy Warre* (London, 1640), book 5, ch. 5, p. 237.

5

Marshalling the Chivalric Elite for War

ROBERT W. JONES

In contrast to the political and socio-cultural organisation of the chivalric elite, we know surprisingly little about how they organised themselves on the battlefield. Our sources provide very little insight. Indeed, if we were to believe the majority of our narrative sources then we might conclude that there was no organisation at all, and that knights fought as individual warriors. Certainly that is the picture painted in the epic and the romance. The heroes fight alone, against huge odds or in one-on-one encounters that seem more like tournament bouts than all-out war.[1] Biographers and chroniclers have a similar approach, providing a broad-brush narrative of military actions, then focusing right down to the acts of individual figures. Simply put, the writers were not interested in the minutiae of military organisation any more than their audiences, for whom much of it would have been self-evident, their being part of the military elite. Moreover, the importance of the chivalric virtue of *prouesse*, with its focus on individual martial ability, pushed the writer and audience down the same line.

For much the same reason, the writings on chivalry – the treatises of the likes of Geoffrey de Charny, Honoré Bonet or Christine de Pizan – have little to say on the subject either. The individual warrior's worth, prowess and honour were their subject. Christine de Pizan, drawing heavily on the late Roman writer Vegetius, wrote about the virtues and skills of the commander, and of the strategy necessary in war (the importance of lines of supply, the need to retain the strategic initiative and the like), but has little use for Vegetius's extensive and detailed passages on the structure of armies and the units within them.[2]

[1] Chrétien de Troyes's *Cligés* is unusual amongst romances in its portrayal of mass engagements and siege, but even here the eponymous hero's father, Alexander, and his compatriots fight as individuals with little sense of cohesion or structure. Chrétien de Troyes, *Les Romans de Chrétien de Troyes*, II: *Cligés*, ed. H. Champion (Paris, 1957).

[2] Christine de Pizan, *The Book of Deeds of Arms and of Chivalry*, trans. S. Willard, ed. C. Cannon Willard (University Park, PA, 1999). That having been said, Vegetius has little to say on the tactical use of cavalry of his own time because 'this branch of the military has progressed in its training practices, type of armour and breed of horses' so that there is nothing 'to be gained from books, for the present state of knowledge is sufficient'

Historians of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries will argue that whilst the narrative sources may be all but silent on the topic, the administrative records survive in numbers sufficient to develop a very strong understanding of how a medieval army functioned. From 1337 English royal armies, both field armies and garrison forces, were raised entirely by the use of contracts.[3] These forces, paid by the crown, generated an enormous quantity of bureaucratic paperwork, from the initial indenture through regular muster rolls and *restauro equorum* valuations of horses for compensation purposes, to pardons and protections taken out at the onset of campaigns to try to protect the assets of those going to war. The works of Andrew Ayton and of the *Medieval Soldier* project have used these documents to provide insights into the careers of individual warriors – both men-at-arms and archers – their patterns of service and the structure and recruitment of the retinues to which they belonged.[4] Their work has confirmed that these retinues were not permanent structures but were disbanded and reformed for each campaign. Knights and men-at-arms might serve with the same lord or captain, as Ayton has argued for the earl of Northampton's retinue at Crécy and afterwards, but this was by no means certain, and many switched from one campaign to another.[5] However, they have also shown that recruitment was not wholly random, but was based on existing relationships, using local community ties, familial connections and personal affinities to fill out the ranks. Adrian Bell's study of the personnel of the 1387–88 campaign in France shows that its commander, Richard FitzAlan, earl of Arundel, made use of his extensive network of men who owed him service in one form or another across his landholdings in Sussex and Shropshire.[6]

Despite the 'professionalisation' of the armies of the fourteenth century, their recruitment was still based on personal relationships, ties of family, tenure

(*Vegetius: Epitome of Military Science*, trans. N. P. Milner (Liverpool, 1996), p. 119). For more on this see Matthew Bennett's chapter below.

[3] M. Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare in the Middle Ages: The English Experience* (New Haven, 1996), p. 92.

[4] A. Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses: Military Service and the English Aristocracy under Edward III* (Woodbridge, 1999), *The Soldier in Later Medieval England* Project – https://research.reading.ac.uk/medievalsoldier/ (accessed 24/10/2017) – was a collaborative work under Professor Anne Curry that saw the production of an online database and a series of publications including A. Bell, *War and the Soldier in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2004), D. Simpkin, *The English Aristocracy at War: From the Welsh Wars of Edward I to the Battle of Bannockburn* (Woodbridge, 2008), *England and Scotland at War, c. 1296–c. 1513*, ed. A. King and D. Simpkin (Leiden, 2012), A. R. Bell, A. Curry, A. King and D. Simpkin, *The Soldier in Later Medieval England* (Oxford, 2013), and A. Chapman, *Welsh Soldiers in the Later Middle Ages, 1282–1422* (Woodbridge, 2015).

[5] A. Ayton, 'The English Army at Crécy', in *The Battle of Crécy, 1346*, ed. A. Ayton, P. Preston *et al.* (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 204–15.

[6] Bell, *War and the Soldier*, p. 84.

and service. In this they were not all that different from the armies of previous centuries (nor indeed of contemporary France), with men serving on the basis of owed service. Indeed, given that many of the men in these armies were in fact paid and under contract, notwithstanding any 'feudal' duty they owed, one might argue that the difference is one of degree and detail.[7] The core of Anglo-Norman armies was made up of members of the king's military household, the *familia regis*, perhaps best described as retained warriors, in that they were a standing force, serving in return for a combination of wages, liveries and land.[8]

J. H. Round argued that the Norman restructuring of landholding in England after the Conquest was based upon the establishment of units – *constabularia* – of ten knights, and that these formed the building blocks of the feudal host.[9] Unfortunately, Round's enviably logical structure has been shown to be overly simplistic; the relationship between the 'feudal landscape' of England and the structure of its armies was very far from neat. The term *constabularia* is, along with *échelles*, *conroi* and *bannières*, one of several that we find being used to describe small units of cavalry within both narrative and administrative sources. Various historians have asserted particular numbers for them. The Flemish military historian J. F. Verbruggen considered these small units to be the building blocks of knightly armies, but his continental sources are much less restricted in terms of unit size than Round's vision. He notes that the thirteenth-century French chronicler William le Breton, describing the battle of Bouvines, gives strengths between five and thirty, whilst in 1351 John the Good of France directed that *routes*, another analogous formation, in French armies should be at least twenty-five strong, but 'better still thirty to eighty'.[10] Although noting the problems with his model of structured tenure, Michael Prestwich followed Round in arguing for a ten-man *constabularia*, suggesting that they existed from the Conquest until the Edwardian transformation of English armies following Bannockburn and Dupplin Moor.[11] He cites the Anglo-Norman writer Wace as referring to such ten-man units, and argues that other sources also indicate a similar structure was present.[12] In his article '*Miles in Armis Strenuus:* The Knight at War', however, he gives a more nuanced response, noting that Edward III's

[7] S. Morillo, *Warfare Under the Anglo-Norman Kings, 1066–1135* (Woodbridge, 1994), p. 62.
[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 64ff.
[9] M. Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare*, pp. 48, 61. Round's arguments appear in J. H. Round, 'The Introduction of Knight Service into England', in his *Feudal England* (London, 1895), pp. 258–61.
[10] J. F. Verbruggen, *The Art of Warfare in Western Europe during the Middle Ages*, trans. S. Willard (Woodbridge, 1997), pp. 242 and 76.
[11] M. Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare*, pp. 48–9.
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 48, citing M. Bennett, 'Wace, and Warfare', *Anglo-Norman Studies XI* (1988), pp. 49–50. In fact Bennett makes no mention of Wace assigning a specific size to the *conroi*.

familia regis or household troops were organised in *constabularia* of ten men, but that the knights who served King John in 1215 were organised into *constabularia* of around twenty-five knights.[13]

To add to the complexity, both Verbruggen and Prestwich also consider the 'banner' – the formation led by a banneret – as another tactical unit of knightly cavalry. Verbruggen argues for twenty-man units, whilst Prestwich notes a reference within the *Histoire de Guillaume Marechal* to a calculation that as the Young King had fifteen bannerets with him he must have had around 200 knights in his tourneying retinue, giving an average of around thirteen knights per banneret, a number supported by the horse evaluations for Edward I's army for the Scottish campaign.[14] Again, however, Prestwich notes that the average hides a wide discrepancy between the largest and the smallest units.[15] Neither Verbruggen nor Prestwich make any attempt to reconcile the retinue of the banneret with the *conroi* or *constabularia*. They were so similar in size that it seems highly unlikely that one should be a higher level of organisation than the other. It is just possible that the *bannière* of a banneret was made up of one or more *conroi*, but there is little or nothing in the source material to support this. The most obvious way to rationalise all of this is to recognise that these small units were formed organically, determined by the size of the retinues being brought by individual knights and lords. Smaller retinues could be combined into *constabularie* or *conroi* whilst larger ones could be divided up, although the retinue appears to have continued to fight as a single entity.

Part of the problem is that there has been a tendency amongst military historians to think about medieval armies in modern, western European military terms, assuming units to be of fixed numbers and considering these cavalry subunits to be the direct equivalent of the troop or squadron. Such a correlation is neither accurate nor helpful. Medieval knightly forces were not the equivalent of nineteenth-century cavalry regiments.[16] They were not permanent structures of

[13] J. Prestwich, '*Miles in Armis Strenuus*: The Knight at War', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 5 (1995), pp. 201–20.

[14] Verbruggen, *Art of Warfare*, pp. 75–7; M. Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare*, p. 14.

[15] J. Prestwich, '*Miles in Armis Strenuus*', pp. 201–20.

[16] On the tendency to see medieval warfare through a nineteenth-century lens see S. Morillo, '*Milites*, Knights and Samurai: Military Terminology, Comparative History and the Problems of Translation', in *The Normans and their Adversaries at War*, ed. R. Abels and B. Bachrach (Woodbridge, 2001), pp. 167–184 and R. W. Jones, '*Cum Equis Discoopertus*: The "Irish" Hobelar in the English armies of the Fourteenth Century', in *Military Communities in Late Medieval England: Essays in Honour of Andrew Ayton*, ed. G. P. Barker, C. Lambert and D. Simpkin (Woodbridge, 2018), pp. 15–30. The classic work that considers warfare as a culturally determined activity is John Keegan's *A History of Warfare* (London, 1993).

fixed size, nor did they drill and manoeuvre in the way in which we are used to seeing from, say, the Trooping the Colour ceremonies on Horse Guards Parade.

This is clear from the one source that gives any instruction on small-unit tactics for knightly combatants, the Rule of the Order of the Knights of the Temple. These precepts are, like the order itself, a rather curious mixture of the monastic and the military (although the former dominates the content of the rule).[17] Amongst the advice in the latter part is a detailed description of how the order would form up for battle. Even here the *ad hoc* nature of knightly organisation is to be seen. The rule states that 'when they are established in squadrons, no brother should go from one squadron to another', suggesting that the knight-brothers were not pre-set, and the need to instruct them to remain in that squadron and not to go to another suggests fluidity of command and individuality of action as the norm.[18] There is also flexibility with regard to the numbers within a squadron. In the case of both the master of the order and of those knights charged with commanding a squadron – 'ceaus noméement qui mainent eschiele de chevalier' – they could select '*up to*' ten knights to act as a bodyguard.[19] These bodyguards were to overwhelm enemies close to the banner and their commander; the other knights within the squadron had no fixed positions but might 'attack in front and behind, to left and right, and wherever they think they can torment their enemies in such a way that, if the banner needs them they may help it, and the banner help them, if necessary'.[20]

Whilst, as Verbruggen says, the existence of the *echiele* or *conroi* means that there must have been small-unit tactics employed, there is nothing in the rule to indicate that these *eschieles* were used in any tactically sophisticated way. There is no description of how *conroi* might be deployed or launched individually whilst others were kept in reserve (indeed), nor of individual *conroi* providing

[17] *The Rule of the Templars: The French Text of the Rule of the Order of the Knights Templar,* ed. and trans. J. M. Upton-Ward (Woodbridge, 1992). For a different take on the Rule as a manual see Matthew Bennett's chapter below, pp. 66–7.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 59. 'Quan ils sont establis par eschieles, nul frere ne doit aler de l'un eschiele a l'autre'. H. de Curzon, *La Règle du Temple* (Paris, 1886), p. 123.

[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 59–60. 'Et puis le Mareschau doit comander a v ou a vi freres chevaliers, ou jusque a x freres a gardez lui et le confanon' (de Curzon, *La Règle du Temple*, p. 125). 'Et chascun comandeor d'eschiele puet avoir confanon ploié et puet comander jusque a chevaliers de garder lui et le confanon' (de Curzon, *La Règle du Temple*, p. 126). Similarly, the turcopolier, who was in charge of the turcopole Levantine horsemen commonly used as scouts, and of the sergeant-brothers on the battlefield, could be given 'five or six or eight knights, or up to ten' (*The Rule of the Templars*, p. 61).

[20] *The Rule of the Templars*, p. 60. 'Et li autre frere pueent poindre avant et arrieres, et a destre et a senestre, et la ou il cuideront grevez lor henemis, en tel maniere que, se le confanon a mestier d'aye, que il li puissent aidier, et le confanon a eaus, se mestier lor estoir' (de Curzon, *La Règle du Temple*, p. 125).

each other with mutual support.[21] The only condition with respect to the charge taking place is that no man should leave the ranks to charge without permission, on pain of losing his mount and all possessions bar his habit.[22]

All of the above appears rather haphazard, especially as the military orders had greater opportunity than any other medieval military formation (prior to the establishment of the French and Burgundian *Compagnies d'ordonnance*) to form permanent and practiced tactical structures, but it accords with what we read of knightly cavalry combat elsewhere. These accounts are full of descriptions of men arranged tightly in ranks, 'so close together that an apple would not touch the ground', or with 'no space open where a glove can fall to earth', or even, in the words of the twelfth-century writer Ambroise, that 'It was not possible to throw a prune except on mailed and armoured men.' However, there is little sense of any order to this closeness.[23] The importance of attacking *ordinate*, in good order, is also regularly mentioned, and the failure to do so is described as a cause for defeat, but again this does not seem to translate into any formal tactical structure.[24]

There may seem to be an element of chicken-and-egg here. Medieval cavalry evolutions were nowhere near as sophisticated as those of the eighteenth century and thus the formal structures of small units were not as important. Of course it was the lack of the formal structures of small units that prevented the medieval cavalry from performing the sophisticated evolutions of their eighteenth-century counterparts. Such formal structures required an underlying administrative and logistical structure that was simply not available until the fifteenth century, when the Crown could raise and maintain troops on a permanent basis, as happened with the establishment of the French and Burgundian *Compagnies d'ordonnance*. These formations (still variable in size, despite being based around the four-man

[21] Within the rule, the forming of a reserve is the role given to the sergeants, under the command of the turcopolier. *The Rule of the Templars*, p. 61.

[22] *The Rule of the Templars*, p. 59. This accords with fourteenth-century punishments of the forfeiture of horse and harness found in the Ordinances of Durham of 1385 ('Ordinances of War Made by Richard II at Durham 1385', in *Monumenta Juridica: The Black Book of the Admiralty*, ed. Sir T. Twist (London, 1871), I, pp. 453–8). See also A. Curry, 'The Military Ordinances of Henry V: Texts and Contexts', in *War, Government and Aristocracy in the British Isles, c. 1150–1500: Essays in Honour of Michael Prestwich*, ed. C. Given-Wilson, A. Kettle and L. Scales (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 214–49, and 'Disciplinary Ordinances for English and Franco-Scottish Armies in 1385: An International Code?', *Journal of Medieval History* 37 (2011), pp. 269–94.

[23] See Verbruggen, *Art of Warfare*, pp. 71–4.

[24] See Orderic Vitalis and Abbot Suger's descriptions of the battle of Brémule, where the disorderly charge of the French knights broke against the well-ordered ranks of the Anglo-Norman army; *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. and trans. M. Chibnall (Oxford, 1978), VI, pp. 234–43; Suger, *The Deeds of Louis the Fat*, trans. R. Cusimano and J. Moorhead (Washington, DC, 1992), p. 117.

building block of the *lance fournée*) were established because of a combination of strong central authority, sufficient finances and a large pool of manpower in the form of the free companies.[25]

Whatever the relationship between the *eschiele* and the *banière*, the *conroi* and the retinue, the main 'manoeuvre unit' of the medieval army (to throw once again a wholly anachronistic military term into the mix) was the battle or ward. Though the battles were traditionally three in number – the van-, main and rearwards – armies might comprise many more. This was particularly true where the army was polyglot (such as in the Latin East) or where contingents from distinctly different regions were gathered (as was the case with the French royal armies). Thus the army that Richard the Lionheart led from Acre to Jaffa, which was to win the victory at Arsuf, comprised five different battles: units of men from Richard's own lands of Aquitaine and Brittany, Poitou, and England and Normandy, then contingents of French and Flemings, and crusader barons and smaller contingents of crusaders. The Templars and the Hospitallers formed the vanguard and rearguard respectively. Similarly, at Courtrai, the French army was divided into ten battles, according to regional identity.[26] At Nájera in 1367 the members of the Order of the Sash (*Orden de la Banda*), established by Alphonse XI of Castile around 1332, along with their retainers, were drawn up as an individual battle in Alphonse's army, alongside another comprising the French-recruited Free Companies under Bertrand du Guesclin.[27] English armies, which after the loss of Normandy never had the same element of regional diversity, seem to have formed their battles around individual large retinues (normally belonging to one of the peers), with smaller retinues being grouped with them to offer a rough equality of size. At Crécy the vanguard was made up of a few large retinues, those of the prince of Wales, the earls of Warwick and Northampton and the prince's tutor, Bartholemew Burghesh. The rearguard was made up of five retinues – those of the bishop of Durham, the earls of Arundel, Suffolk and Huntingdon, and that of the banneret Hugh Despenser.[28] The mainward, gathered around Edward III, comprised the bannerets of the king's household, along with foreign contingents and the smaller retinues that were serving independent of any of the peers. It seems obvious that the division of the army was based upon the practical reckoning of the size of the larger and indivisible retinues, and

[25] M. Keen, *Medieval Warfare: A History* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 283–4. P. Contamine, *War in the Middle Ages*, trans. M. Jones (London, 1985), pp. 169–71.

[26] J. F. Verbruggen, *The Battle of the Golden Spurs: Courtrai, 11 July 1302*, ed. K. DeVries, trans. D. R. Ferguson (Woodbridge, 2002), p. 192.

[27] A. Villalon and D. Kagay, *To Win and Lose a Medieval Battle: Nájera (April 3, 1367), A Pyrrhic Victory for the Black Prince* (Leiden, 2017), pp. 225–8.

[28] Ayton and Preston, *The Battle of Crécy*, pp. 162–3.

the need to provide experienced counsel for the young Black Prince, taking his first command at the age of sixteen.

A rare survival of a battle plan, drawn up by the French commanders in the days leading up to Agincourt, shows a more nuanced approach to battle and consideration of how the army should be divided.[29] The core was the traditional three wards, lined up one behind the other, but on the flanks were placed two bodies of crossbowmen, behind whom were cavalry formations. One of these comprised men on the best horses and in the strongest armour, tasked with sweeping the English bowmen from the field, advancing at the same time as the vanguard, so that by the time the latter reached the English lines the combined firepower of the crossbows and the charge of the cavalry would have destroyed the archers and disordered the English men-at-arms.[30] The second body of horse was to manoeuvre around the rear of the English host to take their horses and cut off their retreat.

In the event the battle plan was not properly implemented. In part the French forces found themselves short-handed, with some of the French knights not having arrived by the time the English were brought to battle, but also because the great nobles and knights, including those who should have taken command of the cavalry, packed out the vanguard, this division of the army having the distinction of coming to blows with the English first, and thereby providing the greatest opportunity for displaying chivalric prowess.[31] As a result the troops were more closely packed than they should have been, and the other bodies lacked the command that enabled them to respond to the changing circumstances of battle.

This tension between the need for control and cooperation between knights and the chivalric drive to display martial prowess recurs on the battlefield time and again. At Mansourah during the Seventh Crusade, it was the shame of being left behind that caused the Templars and the English contingent under William Longspée to follow Robert, count of Artois, in his rash charge through the gates of the city, even though they had advised against it, resulting in their almost total destruction.[32] At both Courtrai in 1302 and Crécy in 1346 the French knights seem to have charged through their own infantry, in the first case because they feared the success of their crossbowmen would rob them of the glory of victory, in the latter because the crossbowmen were failing to making sufficient headway.

[29] C. Phillpotts, 'The French Plan of Battle during the Agincourt Campaign', *English Historical Review* 99, issue 390 (1984), pp. 59–66.

[30] A. Curry, *The Battle of Agincourt: Sources and Interpretations* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 464–66 and pp. 468–69, drawing on Philpotts, 'The French Plan of Battle during the Agincourt Campaign', pp. 64–6.

[31] Curry, *The Battle of Agincourt*, p. 465.

[32] Jean de Joinville, *The Life of Saint Louis*, trans. M. Shaw (London, 1963), pp. 218–19.

At Bannockburn, at least according to one of the sources, it was Edward II's insinuation of cowardice directed at the earl of Gloucester that led the latter into a rash attack on the Scottish lines the following morning, resulting in his death.[33]

There was at least as much pressure on commanders, themselves part of the chivalric community, to behave in a knightly manner, leading by example as John the Good or Richard III were to do at Poitiers and Bosworth respectively. Louis IX may have condemned Gauthier d'Autreche who, disobeying Louis's instructions to remain in his quarters, got himself killed by riding out alone against the Muslims, saying that 'he would not care to have a thousand men like Gauthier, for they would go against his orders as this knight had done'. However, the king himself, on landing at Damietta and being told that the forces arrayed against him were his foes, would have rushed headlong against them had members of his household not held him back and counselled him to wait for the rest of his army to form up.[34] Perhaps this is why the Rule of the Templars and the ordinances of the fourteenth century are almost wholly concerned with raising armies and managing them on the march, rather than with organising them in battle. Whilst they might well have benefited from being regulated, such constraints on the warrior's individual prowess and honour were inconceivable.

Indeed the bulk of the regulations in the ordinances seem to be aimed at keeping the knightly elite's quarrelsome and independent tendencies at bay. Thus in Richard II's ordinances for his Scottish campaign of 1385 there is provision for punishing those who made 'a riot or contention in the army for debate of arms, prisoners, lodgings, or any other things whatsoever' or who 'make any contention or debate in the army on account of any grudge respecting time past, or for anything to come … and if anyone shall proclaim his own name, or that of his lord or master, so as to cause a rising of the people, whereby an affray might happen in the army'. There are further provisions detailing the process by which a man might take a prisoner, and dealing with the issue of a prisoner being claimed by more than one combatant (which must have been a common occurrence in the press of battle). Provisions insisted that prisoners be brought to the Crown, that prisoners were not to be allowed to ride at liberty within the army 'lest [they] espy the secrets of the army', and that no one was to issue safe conducts or passports to prisoners or to the enemy, all of which must surely reflect the independence of action of a chivalric elite used to having their own authority and a trans-national community in which being chivalric was of greater significance than being English or Scots or French. Other provisions are designed to keep the army together and stop men leaving the host. Whilst the provision that no man 'go out on an expedition by night or by day, unless with the knowledge and by the permission of the chieftain of the battle in which he is'

[33] *Vita Edwardi Secundi*, ed. W. R. Childs (Oxford, 2005), p. 91.
[34] Joinville, *Life of Saint Louis*, pp. 208–9 and 204.

carries the rider 'so that they may be able to succour him should occasion require it' and suggests that it is the well-being and safety of the individual that is being protected, the next provision, 'that no one be so hardy as to raise a banner or pennon of St George, or any other, to draw together people out of the army, to go to any place whatsoever', is clearly included to prevent men forming their own hosts, independent of the royal army.[35]

The judging and punishment of offences committed on campaign fell to one of two officers: the marshal or the constable. In origin both of these positions derived from late Roman and Carolingian offices within the court connected with the management of horses – the *marah schalh* (Frankish 'horse servant') and the *comites stabularius* (Latin 'count of the stable'). It is far from clear how these two court positions developed (although it was almost certainly the same process by which the 'seneschal' became the senior servant of royal households). The titles continued to be applied to officers within noble military households; marshals appear in noble *familiae*, with many of the same functions as we see in royal armies, whilst the title of constable was conferred on commanders of garrisons and castles as well as at hundred and county level, where it was given to those tasked with keeping the peace and ensuring that men were equipped properly according to the array.[36]

In England the ranks of both marshal and constable had been held by hereditary right, at least as far back as the civil war between Stephen and Matilda. The title of constable was held by the earls of Hereford, whilst that of marshal (which later became 'earl marshal') was held by the father of the eponymous and famous William Marshal, earl of Pembroke, and passed into the hands of the earls of Norfolk through the latter's daughter. The position was fiercely guarded: in April 1282, at the council held to form the army for the Scottish campaign of that year, Hereford demanded his rights as constable; and in 1297 both marshal and constable refused to perform their duty to record the mustering of troops in London, and there were further troubles between the king and his officials, resulting in the king ordering the Exchequer to investigate their duties and rights. That the Exchequer was only able to come up with what was already recorded in the *constitutio domus regis* – the handbook of Henry I's household – suggests that their roles were not clearly defined even then. Late fourteenth-century ordinances and treatises serve to cast more light. As in the rules of the military orders, there were instructions that no one was to ride ahead of or fall behind the banners of

[35] M. Keen, 'Richard II's Ordinances of War of 1385', in *Rulers and Ruled in Late Medieval England*, ed. G. L. Harris, R. E. Archer and S. Walker (London, 1995), pp. 33–48. See also Curry, 'The Military Ordinances of Henry V'.

[36] A. J. Musson, 'Sub-keepers and Constables: The Role of Local Officials in Keeping the Peace in Fourteenth-Century England', *English Historical Review* 117, issue 470 (2002), pp. 1–24.

the constable and the marshal. Both the constable and the marshal had duties with regard to the billeting of troops and setting up of encampments. Richard II's 1385 ordinance sets out that individual captains were to declare their nominated 'herbergeours' (often translated as 'harbinger' – the men who went before their lord to organise his lodging) to the marshal before sending them out to forage or select billets, and it was this man alone who would ride out and then guide the company to their lodgings.[37] As noted above, it was the constable and the marshal who had the authority to punish men who contravened the ordinances and to pass judgement and mediate in disagreements between parties within the army, including over the division of spoils and the ransom of prisoners. It is not surprising that this should have continued into peacetime, with the earl marshal becoming the arbiter of disputes in the Court of Chivalry.

Punishment of knights for infringements of the ordinances of war was seldom fatal. The most common sanction noted in the ordinances is the forfeiture of horse and harness to the marshal and the constable (until payment of a fine), which resonates with the punishment in the Rule of the Templars of 'losing the habit', in that in both cases the offender was temporarily removed from his community [38] Whilst a number of offences were punishable by death (including the sacking of churches, crying 'havoc', making oneself a captain or following a captain out of the army, failing to perform watch, or violating the king's safe conduct), examples of such punishment being inflicted on members of the chivalric class are rare in narrative sources.[39] One notable example comes from Villehardouin's description of the fourth crusade. He records how a knight of the count of St Pol was hanged and displayed with his shield around his neck for withholding spoils from the sack of Constantinople.[40]

Whilst there were sufficient similarities between the ordinances of English armies and those of France to suggest the positions had similar origins and paths of development to the marshal and the constable, the French offices were slightly different. In France the constable – *connétable* – who had precedence over the marshals, served as the king's lieutenant and commanded his armies. Unlike the English hereditary office, constables of France were appointed by the Crown. Whilst considerations of social rank and political expediency still shaped the choice, more often than not it was the candidate's martial ability and

[37] Keen, 'Richard II's Ordinances of War', pp. 33–48.
[38] *The Rule of the Templars*, pp. 75ff. Ayton, *Knights and Warhorses*, p. 89.
[39] 'Ordinances of War Made by Richard II at Durham 1385', pp. 453–58.
[40] Geoffrey de Villehardouin, *The Conquest of Constantinople*, trans. M. Shaw (London, 1963), p. 94.

effectiveness as a military commander that counted, and as a result lower social status, like that of the Breton knight Bertrand du Guesclin, was not a bar to the office.[41]

This was not the case in English armies. The centralised authority of the English monarchy ran into military command, and it was rare, after the twelfth century, to find an English host that was not led by a man of the royal line. The failure of Robert Knolles' 1370 campaign has been attributed to the fact that the lords who served with him were far more prepared to question his decisions and challenge his authority than they would have been had he been of royal or even noble blood.[42] Similarly, the command of wards and battles was also granted with an eye to social standing and rank. The three wards of the English army at Crécy were commanded by the king himself, the prince of Wales (who had command of the vanguard at the age of sixteen) and finally the hereditary marshal, William de Bohun, earl of Northampton, commanding the rearguard. Of course, whilst the prince was nominally in charge of the van at Crécy, one cannot help but note that he had at his side some of the most experienced and reliable military men available: John de Vere, earl of Oxford; Thomas de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick; and Sir John Chandos. Chandos was once again at the prince's shoulder for the battle of Poitiers and in 1364 led the forces of John de Montfort, duke of Brittany, to victory at Auray. In all these cases, however, Chandos was an advisor, not the titular leader of the host.[43]

The role of the aristocrat was to advise the monarch, to offer him counsel. This occurred not only at court and in parliament but also on the field. Councils of war before battle were common, with all of the nobility having their say as to how, or even if, the battle should be fought. The scene where the nobles drew together the night before or on the morning of the battle in order to discuss the plan for the engagement is a common one in our narrative sources. Less common is that seen in Geoffrey de Joinville's account of the Seventh Crusade.[44] During the battle of Mansourah, Louis IX called his nobles together, drawing them out of the thick of the fighting to ask their advice in response to a request for support from the right wing of his army. They agreed, but as he had his army shift position a request came from another quarter begging him to stay as one of

[41] R. Vernier, *The Flower of Chivalry: Bertrand du Guesclin and the Hundred Years War* (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 157–9. J. Sumption, *Divided Houses: The Hundred Years War* III (London, 2009), p. 75.

[42] Knolles was one of the notable group of lords who were to start their military careers as commoners and almost literally fight their way up through the social hierarchy of the warrior elite. M. Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare*, pp. 166–7.

[43] The only recent extensive treatment of Sir John Chandos is Stephen Cooper's *Sir John Chandos: The Perfect Knight* – http://chivalryandwar.co.uk/Resource/Chandos.pdf (accessed 1/2/2018).

[44] Joinville, *The Life of Saint Louis*, pp. 222–3.

his battles was pinned by Saracen attacks. The council was called together again, and they advised the king to hold position. The messenger from the troops on the right returned, asking why the king had not moved to support them, and so, for a third time, the knights of the council were pulled out of the line of battle to discuss tactics; they changed their minds yet again.

Command by committee was common, and just as frequent seem to have been differences of opinion and disputes between members. Inevitable amongst the polyglot alliances of the early crusades, where monarchs shared command and were unable to separate their personal animosities and rivalries, or where the commander was merely *primus inter pares*, a baron amongst other barons (or even lesser than those around him, *vidé* Robert Knolles in 1370, or Bertrand du Guesclin), it is perhaps more surprising to see such disputes played out when there was a clear social superior, even a monarch. True, Edward II was not the strongest of monarchs, and his court was rife with division even before he led his *familia regis* to Bannockburn, but his goading of the earl of Gloucester and Gloucester's feud with the earl of Hereford are far from unique. We have already seen the debate that took place between the comte d'Artois, the master of the Temple and the earl of Salisbury at Mansourah, and similar was to happen before Courtrai, when the caution of the constable, Raoul de Nesle, was dismissed by the majority of the nobles gathered there as showing a lack of courage.[45] Likewise, the French army fought at Verneuil in 1424, according to Guillaume Cousinot's *Chronique de la Pucelle*, because younger knights and the Scots under Douglas shamed the older and more cautious councillors.[46]

It is common to speak of the knight as the professional soldier of the middle ages, and to an extent this is true. For the majority (but by no means all, a factor we tend to forget), combat and war were indeed their sole occupation and *raison d'être*, but this does not mean that they acted and behaved as soldiers in our modern understanding of the term. The lack of rigid tactical structures within medieval armies was due in part to their transitory nature, with forces being disbanded and reformed for each campaign, and monarchs and states lacking the resources to maintain standing armies. The use of social networks for recruitment, relationships based on landholding, family and friendship, resulted in an organic framework, whilst the lack of opportunity for troops to fight alongside each other limited tactical sophistication within those units let alone between them. That is not to say that there was no tactical organisation or thought; we can see hints of it in descriptions of combat, not least in the tournaments attended by William Marshal. However, the knowledge of the audience and the emphasis on personal prowess and individual martial achievement within chivalric literature

[45] Verbruggen, *The Battle of the Golden Spurs*, p. 225.

[46] C. Taylor, 'Military Courage and Fear in the Late Medieval French Chivalric Imagination', *Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes* 24 (2012), p. 142.

obscure the detail of such matters. *Prouesse* also militated against tactical sophistication. Its requirements made it difficult for the individual warrior to hold back and keep his place in the ranks, and equally difficult for a commander to demand that a chivalric warrior do so. Time and again one can see a tactically sound decision being ignored or overturned by the drives of chivalric behaviour. This drive for individual achievement, fuelled by the increasingly noble status of knighthood, also militated against a complex system of ranks and the imposition of strict discipline on the field. Battles might be won through being *ordinate*, but renown was won with *audace*.

6

Chivalric Violence

PETER SPOSATO AND SAMUEL CLAUSSEN

Gentlemen in shining armor mounted on white horses fighting bravely to rescue damsels in distress, protect the poor and downtrodden, serve their righteous kings, and protect the Christian faithful from the enemies of God: this is a vision of chivalry. But it is not an accurate account of *medieval* chivalry; rather it represents a romantic view of what chivalry ought to be. Medieval knights and men-at-arms were first and foremost practitioners of violence, whose mentality and worldview were underpinned by chivalric ideals, especially the primacy of honor. Yet chivalry was also a complex ideology filled with tensions and contradictions. The chivalric elite worried about the possible excesses of violence even as they embraced its practice as central to their lifestyle and justified violence with claims of honor. Medieval chivalry simultaneously encouraged knights to demonstrate restraint on the battlefield even as it urged them on to acts of incredible bloodshed. Tensions such as these are part of what made chivalry such a powerful and versatile worldview.

Debates continue among historians about the extent to which chivalry encouraged or restrained violence in the French and English contexts. Studies of chivalry and violence have flourished in the last several decades, with scholars such as Richard Kaeuper and Maurice Keen leading the way. And while the original points of contention remain, new research is carrying the study of chivalry and violence south of both the Alps and the Pyrenees into new geographical locations. At the same time, the study of chivalry and violence has become more interdisciplinary with the integration of the history of emotions and anthropological studies of honor and shame. This chapter will examine some of the key issues in the study of chivalry and violence, emphasizing the close connection between the two in both theory and practice before moving further afield to assess how the violent core ideals of chivalry acclimatized to different social, political, and religious contexts in the commune of Florence and the Kingdom of Castile.

The Core Tenets of Chivalry

The brightest stars in the constellation of chivalry were prowess and honor.[1] These two celestial bodies exercised an indelible influence on the mentality of the chivalric elite, who understood that the practice of prowess produced not only material gain but also honor, which in turn served as the 'veritable currency of chivalric life, the glittering reward earned by the valorous as a result of their exertions, their hazarding of their bodies. It [wa]s worth more than life itself.'[2] Indeed, as Richard Kaeuper has argued, prowess assumed the role of 'the demi-god in the quasi-religion of chivalric honour,' worshipped by a chivalric elite who were the 'privileged practitioners of violence in their society.'[3]

The centrality of prowess and honor to chivalric mentality cannot be overstated. It produced an identity and lifestyle centered on violence, especially in the assertion, defense, and vindication of individual and familial honor.[4] This monopoly on major levels of violence and honor colored interactions between chivalric practitioners and the world around them, often with significant and deleterious consequences. Conflicts between members of the chivalric elite, all of whom shared a characteristically touchy sense of honor and propriety and a quick recourse to transgressive force, were fraught with tension and the promise of violence.[5] Chivalric emotions like anger, wrath, an insatiable thirst for vengeance, and fear of shame only intensified this tension and violence.[6] Likewise, the relationship between the chivalric and non-chivalric segments of medieval society was colored by both the former group's self-perception of their own superiority and a steadfast belief that those below them in the social hierarchy, especially peasants and merchants, were utterly bereft of honor and worthy of only contempt. Such a relationship necessarily involved violence, especially when the individual and corporate honor of the chivalric elite was challenged.[7]

[1] The seminal study remains R. W. Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe* (Oxford, 1999). See also Kaeuper, *Medieval Chivalry* (Cambridge, 2016), pp. 33–56 and 155–60. The classic study is M. Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven, CT, 1984). For a contrary view, see D. Crouch, 'The Violence of the Preudomme', in *Prowess, Piety, and Public Order in Medieval Society: Studies in Honor of Richard W. Kaeuper*, ed. C. Nakashian and D. Franke (Leiden, 2017), pp. 87–101 and the works cited therein and C. Bouchard, *'Strong of Body, Brave and Noble': Chivalry and Society in Medieval France* (Ithaca, 1998).

[2] Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence*, pp. 129–30.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 130.

[4] R. W. Kaeuper, 'William Marshal, Lancelot, and the Issue of Chivalric Identity', in *Kings, Knights and Bankers: The Collected Articles of Richard W. Kaeuper*, ed. C. Guyol (Leiden, 2016), pp. 221–42.

[5] Kaeuper, 'Vengeance and Mercy in Chivalric *Mentalité*', in *Kings, Knights and Bankers*, ed. Guyol, pp. 377–88.

[6] Kaeuper, *Medieval Chivalry*, pp. 353–65.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 353, 358.

Chivalry and violence combined prominently in the context of war; warfare was the veritable *raison d'être* of the European chivalric elite.[8] Knights and arms bearers considered the practice of arms to be not only central to their identity, but also an ennobling profession and the best opportunity to demonstrate their prowess and win honor. These ideas were encouraged by the ideals embedded in chivalric biographies, treatises, and imaginative literature. By eagerly and voluntarily participating in war, members of the chivalric elite could differentiate themselves in an important way from social interlopers who aped aspects of the chivalric lifestyle but eschewed its core, martial tenets. Moreover, expertise in the profession of arms and eager participation in military service translated at home into social prestige, wealth, and political power.

As a pragmatic and flexible set of ideals, chivalry not only encouraged knights and arms bearers to cultivate the profession of arms; it also played an important role in shaping its practice.[9] The scholarship of Matthew Strickland and John Gillingham, among others, has demonstrated convincingly that chivalry influenced the nature of warfare in positive ways, including a shift away from slaughtering captured enemies and slave raiding.[10] Chivalry thus imparted some laws of war that often, but not always, were followed by the warrior elite, especially the ransoming of noble and knightly prisoners. It is important, however, to discard romantic notions of medieval warfare. The chivalric obsession with honor earned through prowess encouraged the warrior elite to violate the very same conventions chivalry promoted. Moreover, as Kaeuper observes, 'Knights who were considered thoroughly honorable carried out warfare using the very tactics that romantics think "true chivalry" avoided and condemned.'[11] Indeed, the chivalric elite regularly inflicted the horrors of war on civilian populations, including pillaging and burning cities, towns, and fields, and raping women.[12] This behavior was not only motivated by matters of honor. It was also motivated

[8] The scholarship is extensive: Kaeuper, *Medieval Chivalry*, pp. 161–207; idem, *Chivalry and Violence*, pp. 161–88; C. Taylor, *Chivalry and the Ideals of Knighthood in France During the Hundred Years War* (Cambridge, 2013); M. Strickland, *War and Chivalry: The Conduct and Perception of War in England and Normandy, 1066–1217* (Cambridge, 1996); M. Vale, *War and Chivalry: Warfare and Aristocratic Culture in England, France, and Burgundy at the End of the Middle Ages* (Athens, GA, 1981); J. Gillingham, 'Conquering the Barbarians: War and Chivalry in Britain and Ireland', *The Haskins Society Journal* 4 (1992), pp. 67–84; and Keen, *Chivalry*, pp. 219–37. For a contrary view, see J. Huizinga, *Autumn of the Middle Ages*, trans. R. Payton and U. Mammitzch (Chicago, 1996).

[9] Kaeuper, *Medieval Chivalry*, pp. 172.

[10] R. Ambühl, *Prisoners of War in the Hundred Years War: Ransom Culture in the Late Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2013) and Kaeuper, *Medieval Chivalry*, pp. 164. See also the important studies by Strickland and Gillingham listed in footnote 8.

[11] Kaeuper, *Medieval Chivalry*, pp. 165–7, at p. 167.

[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 165, 194–205. See also N. Wright, *Knights and Peasants: The Hundred Years War in the French Countryside* (Woodbridge, 1998).

by the pursuit of material profits, which were not at all antithetical to medieval chivalry.[13]

Chivalry also reverberated with Christian ideas and themes. Pope Urban II's proclamation of the First Crusade in 1095 was perhaps a key moment. With the church officially promising individual knights remission of their sins in exchange for violent action against the Muslims of the Middle East, the knightly lifestyle received ecclesiastical and even divine sanction.[14] Knights and knightly writers throughout the middle ages embraced crusading theology and typically held crusade to be the highest possible form of warfare.[15] Kings such as Richard I of England and Louis IX of France, together with their warriors, embraced the opportunity to win salvation as a part of their martial calling, setting off on grand expeditions to Jerusalem, Egypt, and North Africa, with the institutional Roman Church cheering their efforts and offering blessed sanction. Indeed, crusades were peopled not only with knights but with clerics who would recite the mass and offer confession and communion to warriors before the latter engaged the religious enemy.[16]

Yet the warrior elite never became simply ecclesiastical soldiers or Christian automata who followed the pontiff's every command. Instead, as the ideology of chivalry came into being in the late eleventh or twelfth century, they appropriated Christian theology and the language of crusade for their own ends.[17] Knights thought of their deeds on the battlefield as meritorious suffering, simultaneously casting it as an imitation of monastic asceticism and an imitation of the suffering of Christ on the cross, neither of which was clearly articulated by clerics.[18] As a result, these elite warriors were happy to direct their violence against both non-Christians and Christians with the expectation of spiritual reward. Indeed, in many chivalric works throughout the high and late middle ages knights express a conviction that God was satisfied with their bloody labor

[13] Kaeuper, *Medieval Chivalry*, p. 167.

[14] For the best works on crusade ideology see C. Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, trans. M. W. Baldwin and W. Goffart (Princeton, 1977); M. Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade* (Oxford, 1993); J. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A History*, 2nd edn (New Haven, CT, 2005), pp. 47–9; S. A. Throop, *Crusading as an Act of Vengeance 1095–1216* (Aldershot, 2011).

[15] L. and J. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: Idea and Reality, 1095–1274* (London, 1981), pp. 1–2. See also S. A. Claussen, 'Chivalric and Religious Valorization of Warfare in High Medieval France', in *Prowess, Piety, and Public Order in Medieval Society*, ed. Nakashian and Franke, pp. 199–217.

[16] D. Bachrach, *Religion and the Conduct of War c. 300–1215* (Woodbridge, 2003), p. 128.

[17] R. W. Kaeuper, *Holy Warriors* (Philadelphia, 2009), pp. 81–93. For a study of the influence of crusading ideology on the kings and chivalry of fourteenth-century England see Timothy Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade: The English Experience in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2013).

[18] *Ibid.*, pp. 57–64.

even when it was committed against coreligionists.[19] The chivalric elite clearly thought and worried about the spiritual implications of a life of violence but they routinely accepted the echoes of the Council of Clermont and comforted themselves with the belief that they had a divine duty to perform in this world: the winning of honor through the defeat or even slaughter of their enemies. Even as clerics sought to moderate violence between Christians, the independent nature of chivalric ideology made it possible to claim the blessing of the Lord of Hosts for this intra-faith violence.[20]

The medieval state, like the medieval church, oscillated between encouraging chivalric violence and attempting to restrain it. Medieval kings, of course, had many reasons to encourage knightly violence. In the most practical sense, kings were plainly aware of the value of having trained knights available in times of war. The medieval state, after all, rested on its ability to either conquer or defend territory.[21] But kings found other reasons to support chivalric violence. For one, royal governments relied on knights and their violent tendencies to maintain order within the realm. Medieval policing capabilities, such as they were, often operated not by employing professional law enforcement officers, but by relying on local strongmen – the chivalric elite.[22] Finally, kings embraced chivalric violence because they typically saw themselves as the highest echelon of the knightly class. Certainly by the thirteenth century, kings in England and France represented themselves as knights.[23] Edward I of England famously embraced Arthurian romance as he exhumed and reburied the corpses of Arthur and Guinevere, while his grandson Edward III instituted the Order of the Garter and held feasts and tournaments in imitation of chivalric literature.[24] Each of these threads braided together for medieval kings as they encouraged knights to train, fight, and serve their lord and king.

At the same time, chivalric violence proved to be a stumbling block to the centralizing efforts of medieval kings and royal governments. Just as the church was unable to control chivalric violence, medieval rulers often found themselves encountering fierce knightly independence.[25] Indeed, from at least the twelfth century, knights in the chivalric heartland of England and France loudly

[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 79–87; Claussen, 'Chivalric and Religious Valorization'.
[20] Kaeuper, *Holy Warriors*, pp. 56–7.
[21] R. W. Kaeuper, *War, Justice, and Public Order: England and France in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1988), p. 11.
[22] This was very often the case especially in France. See Kaeuper, *War, Justice, and Public Order*, pp. 173–4, as well as Kaeuper, *Medieval Chivalry* (Cambridge, 2016), p. 243.
[23] *Ibid.*, pp. 96–7.
[24] M. Ormrod, *Edward III* (New Haven, CT, 2013), pp. 299–321. See also H. Collins, *The Order of the Garter 1348–1461: Chivalry and Politics in Late Medieval England* (Oxford, 2000).
[25] This is one of the key arguments of Kaeuper in *War, Justice, and Public Order*.

and forcefully proclaimed their right to make private war, to participate in tournament, and to disregard royal demands when it suited them.[26] The Breton lord Olivier de Clisson emblazoned his motto 'parce qu'il me plest' – because it pleases me – on his seal, clearly asserting his independence.[27] Kings tried to limit chivalric violence through legislation banning tournaments, the imposition of strong legal procedures for bringing suit against knights who behaved badly, and through the founding of royal orders of chivalry.[28] Still, throughout the middle ages, royal governments constantly struggled and often failed to restrain or even to redirect chivalric violence. In many ways, chivalric violence was one of the largest problems for medieval rulers seeking to build stronger state authority which would produce the early modern state.

Chivalry and chivalric ideology revolved around a core group of tenets, especially honor and prowess. This core, and the powerful tensions that surrounded it, generally remained consistent throughout the high and late middle ages and across Latin Christendom, even though each geographic and temporal context had its own iteration of chivalric thought and behavior. Yet, scholars have focused overwhelmingly on the Francophone (and later Anglophone) worlds; France, England, the Crusader States, and to a lesser extent Scotland and Ireland provide most of the evidence that historians of chivalry have examined in detail in the period from roughly 1050 to roughly 1500.

While historians of chivalry have been slower to take up the study of chivalry in more diverse regions, chivalric ideas and behavior thrived outside of the Francophone heartland. The rest of this chapter will examine two case studies of the history of chivalry beyond France and England in an effort to both demonstrate the wide expanse of chivalric ideology and violence, and to highlight some of the ways in which the specific practice of chivalric violence might transform around its core in different parts of western Europe. First, the case of Florence, one of the better documented cities in communal Italy, intimates the powerful and sanguinary combination of medieval chivalry and a civic context. Second, the case of Castile illustrates the core of chivalry at work in a powerful southern kingdom while considering the effects of a Muslim population just across the border.

[26] The history of Louis VI of France is rife with vassals who disregard royal authority. See *The Deeds of Louis the Fat*, trans. R. Cusimano and J. Moorehead (Washington, DC, 1992). See also Kaeuper, *War, Justice, and Public Order*, pp. 225–67.

[27] J. Bell Henneman, *Olivier de Clisson and Political Society in France under Charles V and Charles VI* (Philadelphia, 1996), p. 209.

[28] J. Vale, 'Violence and the Tournament', in *Violence in Medieval Society*, ed. R. W. Kaeuper (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 143–58. Kaeuper, *War Justice and Public Order*, pp. 148–59; D'A. J. D. Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown: The Monarchial Order of Knighthood in Later Medieval Europe, 1325–1520* (Woodbridge, 1987).

Florence

The history of chivalry in Italy has not yet been written.[29] Indeed, the lack of scholarship on 'Italian' chivalry or its iterations in the peninsula's diverse regions and localities is striking, particularly when compared to the voluminous historiography for the English and French contexts.[30] Even studies dealing with topics related to chivalry, such as the social institution of knighthood,[31] the communal cavalry (*cavallata*) and warfare,[32] violence and conflict,[33] and the large corpus of imaginative literature (romances, epics, *chansons*),[34] do not really shed much light on basic chivalric principles and behavior in Italian cities and courts. Unfortunately, this lack of scholarly attention serves to obfuscate the powerful influence chivalry's core tenets exercised upon the mentality, identity, and lifestyle of the Italian warrior elite who, despite inhabiting diverse social and cultural terrain, were cut from similar cloth to their French, English, and Castilian counterparts.[35] In Italy, as elsewhere in Europe, this cloth was tightly woven with fibers of violence.

Chivalry and violence combined prominently in the city of Florence, which boasts a strong tradition of chronicle writing and significant archives. The

[29] The basic phrasing is from W. Caferro, 'Continuity, Long-Term Service, and Permanent Forces: A Reassessment of the Florentine Army in the Fourteenth Century', *Journal of Modern History* 80 (June 2008), pp. 219–51, at p. 219.

[30] Important exceptions include G. Castelnuovo, *Être noble dans la cité: Les noblesses italiennes en quête d'identité (XIIIe–XVe siècle)* (Paris, 2014), J. Maire Vigueur, *Cavalieri e cittadini: Guerra, conflitti e società nell'Italia comunale* (Bologna, 2004), F. Cardini, *L'acciar de' cavalieri: Studi sulla cavalleria nel mondo toscano e italico (secc. XII–XV)* (Florence, 1997), and *idem*, *Guerre di primavera: Studi sulla cavalleria e la tradizione cavalleresca* (Florence, 1992).

[31] See T. Dean, 'Knighthood in Medieval Italy', in *Europa e Italia. Studi in onore di Giorgio Chittolini* (Florence, 2011), pp. 143–54, and the studies cited therein.

[32] P. Grillo, *Cavalieri e popoli in armi: Le istituzioni militari nell'Italia medievale* (Bari, 2008); S. Gasparri, *I milites cittadini: Studi sulla cavalleria in Italia* (Rome, 1992); A. Settia, *Comuni in guerra: Armi ed eserciti nell'Italia delle città* (Bologna, 1993); and C. Shaw, *Barons and Castellans: The Military Nobility of Renaissance Italy* (Leiden, 2014).

[33] A. Di Santo, *Guerre di torri: Violenza e conflitto a Roma tra 1200 e 1500* (Rome, 2016); *The Culture of Violence in Renaissance Italy: Proceedings of the International Conference*, ed. S. Kline Cohn Jr. and R. Ricciardelli (Florence, 2012); and *Violence and Civil Disorder in Italian Cities, 1200–1500*, ed. L. Martines (Berkeley, 1972).

[34] The body of scholarship is extensive. See *The Arthur of the Italians: The Arthurian Legend in Medieval Italian Literature and Culture*, ed. G. Allaire and F. Regina Psaki (Cardiff, 2014) and the studies cited therein.

[35] J. Larner, 'Chivalric Culture in the Age of Dante', *Renaissance Studies* 2:2 (June 1988), pp. 117–30 and P. Sposato, 'Reforming the Chivalric Elite in Thirteenth Century Florence: The Evidence of Brunetto Latini's *Il Tesoretto*', *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 46:1 (spring 2015), pp. 203–28.

available chronicle evidence, however, presents certain challenges to scholars of chivalry, as the majority of chronicles were composed by authors who did not belong to chivalric circles and who were unsympathetic toward the violent lifestyle of the warrior elite. These authors were members of the Popolo, a group comprised of wealthy international merchants and bankers (the *popolo grasso*) and the working classes (*popolo minuto*), which slowly came to dominate Florentine government and civic society during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The *popolani* were animated by a civic ideology characterized by notions of the common good and the desire for public order and stability, ideas which were in many ways antithetical to chivalry.[36] From their perspective the chivalric lifestyle, especially chivalric violence, posed a threat to civil society.

The lack of insight provided by chronicles into the mentality and motivations of the Florentine warrior elite makes the evidence offered by the robust body of imaginative literature, especially romances, which circulated around Tuscany all the more crucial for understanding chivalry in the Florentine context, especially chivalric violence. These works were powerful instruments of reform and valorization, allowing for the transmission of ideas, ideals, and behaviors to the chivalric warrior elite who comprised their primary audience.[37] They were also replete with examples of valorized, bloody violence, the sheer quantity and intensity of which had a marked impact on the Florentine warrior elite.

Members of the Florentine chivalric elite, like their transalpine counterparts, treated personal and familial honor as central to their very identities, with more than one contemporary suggesting that honor was worth more than life itself.[38] As a result, these men utilized violence, often with reckless abandon, to assert, defend, or vindicate that honor. The consequences of this extreme violence were often devastating not only for the families and individuals involved, but also for the city itself.

Imaginative literature, especially the anonymous Florentine Tristan romances, inundated their chivalric audiences with a veritable deluge of bloody honor-violence, most of which far exceeded the original offense, but still received effusive praise. Illustrative is a series of brutal but representative acts of violence carried out by Tristan following the murder of his father, King Meliadus, in the *Tristano Riccardiano* (*c.* 1280–1300). Early in the romance Tristan's father is murdered by eight of his own knights while they are on a hunt in the woods near his castle.

[36] J. Najemy, *A History of Florence, 1200–1575* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 35–62.

[37] M. Aurell, *The Lettered Knight: Knowledge and Aristocratic Behavior in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Budapest, 2016), pp. 58–83. Aurell argues that the warrior elite of Communal Italy had a much higher rate of literacy than previously thought, perhaps the highest in Europe.

[38] P. Sposato, 'Chivalry and Honor-Violence in Late Medieval Florence', in *Prowess, Piety, and Public Order in Medieval Society*, ed. Nakashian and Franke, pp. 102–19, at p. 104.

When Tristan becomes a knight, he secures vengeance by slaughtering the men directly responsible for his father's death. This violence is praised by the author, who then informs his audience that Tristan 'still did not deem himself satisfied with this vengeance. So he rode to the city from which these knights came […] and he killed all the men and women there, and destroyed the city and its walls down to the foundations.'[39] Instead of expressing outrage or disbelief at Tristan's massacre of innocent men, women, and children and the destruction of an entire city, however, the author valorizes the hero's conduct, writing 'All this Tristan did to avenge King Meliadus his father, and no greater revenge was ever taken by any knight, than the one Tristan took for his father's death.'[40] This positive judgment and approbation of Tristan's violence, which far exceeded the original offense, would have imparted to the work's chivalric audience a striking message: excessive violence done in the name of personal and familial honor is not only licit, but praiseworthy.

The insight provided by these romances, namely that chivalric ideals encouraged a brand of violence that was different enough in degree, motivation, and intention to be different in kind from the violence used by other Florentines,[41] allows scholars to differentiate honor-violence from the general practice of violent self-help that permeated Florentine society during this period. Florentines at every level of the social hierarchy treated violent self-help as a means of dealing with conflict, violence that was well regulated by communal laws and treated as a tool of public justice, a positive force in society, one that could restore balance and end, rather than intensify, conflicts. The concept of proportionality was key to controlling this violence.[42] In sharp contrast, the warrior elite treated violence as the best option when their honor was on the line. Absent was any concept of proportionality, as the goal of this violence was not a peaceful conclusion of hostilities, but rather the restoration of personal and familial honor through violence. Indeed, the warrior elite operated in a chivalric economy of honor, in which violent responses necessarily created increasingly more intense cycles of violence.

The ideological framework offered by romances, especially the promotion and valorization of transgressive violence, offers important insight into the historical practice of honor-violence. The anonymous mid-thirteenth-century Florentine chronicle known as the 'Pseudo-Brunetto Latini Chronicle' describes

[39] *Italian Literature II: Tristano Riccardiano*, ed. and trans. F. Regina Psaki (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 18–19.

[40] *Ibid.*, pp. 18–19.

[41] For an extensive discussion and analysis of the evidence, see Sposato, 'Chivalry and Honor-Violence in Late Medieval Florence'.

[42] A. Zorzi: 'I conflitti nell'Italia comunale. Riflessioni sullo stato degli studi e sulle prospettive di ricerca', in *Conflitti, paci e vendetta nell'Italia comunale*, ed. A. Zorzi (Florence, 2009), pp. 7–43, and the studies cited therein.

a violent confrontation between several leading Florentine knights during a banquet in 1215:

> And [when] the knights were seated at the table, a court jester came and lifted up a cut of meat from in front of messer Uberto dell'Infangati, who was a companion of messer Bondelmonte di Bondelmonti; who was greatly disturbed [by the jester's actions]. And messer Oddo Arrighi de' Fifanti, a valorous man, villainously mocked messer Uberto; so that messer Uberto grabbed him by the throat and messer Oddo Arrighi threw a cut of meat in his face; so that the entire court was troubled; [and] when everyone got up from the table, messer Bondelmonte stabbed messer Oddo in the arm with a knife and villainously wounded him.[43]

This relatively mild bout of violence intensified a few weeks later, on Easter Day 1215, when Bondelmonte was pulled from his horse and killed by Oddo Arrighi and his kinsmen, in broad daylight in the streets of Florence.[44] Bondelmonte's murder was subsequently avenged when, during a skirmish, Simone Donati killed messer Iacopo dello Schiatta Uberti. Also killed in this skirmish were messer Oddo Arrighi di Fifanti and several others, among them a certain messer Guido de' Galli, whose nose and lips were cut off and his mouth cut from ear-to-ear. This brutal violence was carried out by the Bondelmonti family and their allies as vengeance for Bondelmonte's murder.[45]

Giovanni Villani's *Nuova Cronica* provides a second, related example, the murder of Cece de' Bondelmonti, a prominent Florentine knight, in 1263. In that year, Cece and his fellow Guelf exiles were defeated in battle at Castiglione by the Ghibellines of Tuscany and Cece was taken into honorable captivity by Farinata degli Uberti, who placed Cece on his own saddle in order to protect and honor him. Shortly after Cece was seated on the horse, Farinata's brother, messer Pietro Asino, rode up and 'struck him in the face with an iron mace,' killing him.[46] Although Pietro's violence undoubtedly violated the customary honorable treatment accorded to fellow chivalric practitioners captured in battle, it is not condemned in any of the extant sources, suggesting a synergy between the chivalric ideals promoted in romances and the historical practice of honor-violence.

Indeed, the pervasiveness and intensity of historical honor-violence parallels the veritable deluge of praise in contemporary romances for excessive, destructive violence. This valorized violence drowns out concern about the consequences of such violence and subtle messages of reform aimed at tempering

[43] 'Cronica fiorentina compilata nel secolo XIII', in *Testi fiorentini del Dugento e dei primi del Trecento*, ed. A. Schiaffini (Florence, 1954), pp. 82–150, at pp. 117–18 (my translation).

[44] This watershed incident appears in most chronicles. For one account, see Giovanni Villani, *Nuova Cronica*, ed. G. Porta (Parma, 1991), pp. 214–5.

[45] 'Cronica fiorentina compilata nel secolo XIII', pp. 119–20.

[46] Villani, *Nuova Cronica*, p. 317.

its excesses.[47] As a result, the dominant chivalric sentiment underpinning the practice of honor-violence is strikingly clear: violence committed to assert, defend, and vindicate individual and familial honor was not only licit but also praiseworthy, regardless of the consequences.

The connection between chivalry and violence also extended to the corporate honor of the warrior elite, which was intimately tied to this group's political power, social superiority, and traditional autonomy. Whereas the practice of honor-violence involved horizontal honor between equals, however, social-violence dealt with issues of vertical honor between individuals and groups at different levels of the social hierarchy. Chivalric ideas exercised a similar influence here as in the practice of honor-violence, encouraging the warrior elite to use extreme violence to assert and defend not only their individual and familial but also corporate honor.

Unfortunately, romances offer little insight into the mental framework underpinning the practice of social-violence, as its primary victims, the *popolo minuto*, barely registered in the world of the warrior elite and thus rarely appear in the imaginative literature composed for this audience. When they do appear, they are portrayed as base commoners, utterly lacking in martial vigor and honor, and thus objects of derision and contempt. Moreover, violence inflicted upon them seems to be so commonplace as to deserve little fanfare.

The historical practice of social-violence was undoubtedly influenced by the view of the *popolo minuto* promoted in these romances. Not surprisingly, the evidence provided by the judicial archives, which only survive for the years after 1343, suggests that these men regularly suffered the violent wrath of the warrior elite.[48] For example, in January 1344, Giovanni di Guelfo de Pulci was denounced for having smashed Grasso di Guccio, a *popolano*, in the head with the pommel of his sword.[49] In the spring of 1346 Jacopo de Bardi was accused of hitting another *popolano*, Gualterino di Duccio Parenti, over the head with a wine jug until he died.[50] In another significant case, Angelo del fu Panziere dei Ricasoli was convicted of having kidnapped and raped a commoner, Cennina, and having killed her husband, Vannuccio, whose hand he allegedly threw to his

[47] Sposato, 'Chivalry and Honor-Violence in Late Medieval Florence', p. 114.

[48] Important studies utilizing these archives, including caution about the evidence therein, include: C. Lansing, 'Magnate Violence Revisited', in *Communes and Despots in Medieval and Renaissance Italy*, ed. J. Law and B. Paton (Burlington, 2010), pp. 35–48; C. Klapisch-Zuber, *Ritorno alla politicà: i magnati fiorentini, 1340–1440* (Rome, 2009), especially pp. 99–175 and pp. 420–1; and C. Caduff, 'Magnati e popolani nel contado fiorentino: dinamiche sociali e rapporti di potere nel Trecento', *Rivista di storia dell'agricoltura* 33 (1993), pp. 15–63.

[49] Lansing, 'Magnate Violence Revisited', p. 42.

[50] *Ibid.*, p. 43.

dogs to eat.[51] Perhaps most illustrative of all is an example from 1394 when two 'powerful and arrogant' Medici, Francesco di Bicci and his son Averardo, were denounced by a *popolano* whom they had beaten up and chastized as a baby, throwing away his pants in order to better humiliate him.[52]

The warrior elite's sharp sense of honor and precedence resulted in violent retribution against *popolani* who resisted their traditional authority or forgot their proper place in the social hierarchy. For example, in March 1345 a *popolano* from the countryside, Chele Nutini, accused Count Guido Domestico, of the counts Guidi, of attacking his house with fifty men after Chele refused to perform guard service at one of the Guidi castles. He claims Guido was 'driven by rage' and stole all of Chele's possessions before burning the house and the land around it.[53] Likewise, Lotto di messer Fornaio dei Rossi was denounced in March 1346 for having struck Lorenzo, a *popolano*, with a dog collar multiple times in the face until it was bloody, while Lotto's associate held his arms firmly behind his back. While Lotto beat Lorenzo, he taunted Lorenzo's father, saying 'go, help your son, you filthy *popolano* piece of shit.'[54] A denunciation made in February 1347 claimed that when a common woman (*popolana*) publicly repudiated a member of the powerful Rossi family in his own village, he struck her in the head until she fell on the ground covered in blood.[55] Finally, in 1378, during the first days of the popular uprising known as the Ciompi Revolt, one member of the warrior elite, Buonaccorso Pitti, struck down and killed in the city streets with a boar spear a *popolano* rock sculptor who had threatened him.[56]

The *popolo minuto* also fell victim to acts of social-violence because they served as convenient scapegoats for the Florentine government. For example, when a member of the Rossi family was denounced in September 1349 for having attacked and wounded a ward, he was accused of having shouted at his victim 'and I do this to you in order to intimidate and disrespect the Commune and the Popolo and the Signoria, go [to them] so that they can help you, if they can.'[57] Similarly explicit is the challenge issued by a member of the Adimari family, who, according to a denunciation made in February 1349, attacked and

[51] Caduff, 'Magnati e popolani nel contado fiorentino', pp. 35–7.
[52] Klapisch-Zuber, *Ritorno alla politicà*, p. 262.
[53] Lansing, 'Magnate Violence Revisited', pp. 41–2.
[54] Caduff, 'Magnati e popolani nel contado fiorentino', p. 49.
[55] Klapisch-Zuber, *Ritorno alla politicà*, p. 119.
[56] *Cronica di Buonaccorso Pitti*, ed. A. Bacchi della Lega (Bologna, 1905), p. 44. For an examination of the chivalric life and identity of Buonaccorso Pitti, see: P. Sposato, 'The Chivalrous Life of Buonaccorso Pitti: Honor-Violence and the Life of Arms in Late Medieval Florence', *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 3rd series, 13 (spring 2017), pp. 141–280.
[57] Klapisch-Zuber, *Ritorno alla politicà*, p. 118.

raped a girl with several of his companions while shouting 'Death to the Popolo and the Captain [of the Popolo].'[58]

In all of these historical cases of social-violence, what is striking is the recourse to violence when a member of the warrior elite felt the need to assert or defend his honor against social inferiors. Since the *popolo minuto* were seen as lacking honor and impertinent, this violence was often transgressive. Such demonstrations of violence also served to defend the group's political power, social superiority, and traditional autonomy. This brutal violence is in keeping with the valorized behavior promoted in contemporary romances.

Castile

South of the Pyrenees, at the western edge of the Mediterranean Basin, chivalry and violence resonated just as loudly as they did in France or England. The knights of Iberia, sometimes influenced by the ideas of their northern neighbors and sometimes acting on their own impulses, held dear the ideas of chivalry.

As early as the mid twelfth century, written evidence of chivalric ideology exists in Iberia, notably in the *Cantar de mio Cid*. The story of El Cid, drawn partly from the historical life of Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar, an eleventh-century knight and nobleman, effectively highlights the chivalric emphasis on violence both as a means for winning honor and as a lifestyle securing the relative independence of a knight from the overweening ambition of his monarch. The tense relationship between lord and king, so characteristic of chivalric political relationships, is fiercely on display.

The poem opens with weeping as El Cid is banished from the Kingdom of Castile, having done something to offend his king, Alfonso.[59] The tears flow because El Cid and his retainers are so deeply committed to the ideal of loyalty to their rightful lord and king. The thought of being separated from him and thrown out of his service agonizes the Castilian champion and the knights and warriors around him. In response, much of the poem's narrative arc focuses on El Cid working to return to the good graces of King Alfonso so that he can do him

[58] *Ibid*., p. 117.

[59] Because the beginning of the poem is lost to us, we are unsure exactly what El Cid did that resulted in his exile. There is some indication later in the text that his exile was orchestrated by political enemies at court. *Cantar de mio Cid*, ed. A. Montaner (Barcelona, 1993). For foundational Cid scholarship, one should begin with R. M. Pidal, *La España del Cid* (Madrid, 1929). For a few of the numerous more recent evaluations, see R. Fletcher, *The Quest for El Cid* (Oxford, 1991); G. Martínez Díez, 'El otro cid: el cid de la historia en Valencia', *Serie histórica* 21 (2000), pp. 7–38; F. G. Fitz, 'War in the Lay of the Cid', *Journal of Medieval Military History* 10 (2012), pp. 61–88.

good service. Bit by bit, the Castilian champion wins enough honor and renown that King Alfonso insists that El Cid return to his royal service.

The means by which El Cid wins honor, burnishes his great reputation, and sufficiently impresses Alfonso are all the same: martial violence. Violence provided the foundation for each of these chivalric virtues. El Cid's first action after leaving Castile is to ambush the inhabitants of the castle of Castejón and seize the fortification for himself. Having taken the castle, slaughtered dozens of enemies, and plundered through the countryside, El Cid offers the traditional royal fifth to his loyal man, Alvar Fáñez. Fáñez responds that he cannot take any reward from his lord until 'fighting the Moors in the field, using the lance, blood shines from my sword to my elbow!'[60] El Cid similarly seeks to tie favor from his lord to violence in the field. After securing the conquest of the castle of Alcocer, El Cid clearly articulates how he seeks to demonstrate his value to his lord, King Alfonso. He orders Fáñez to return to Castile with news of 'this battle which we have won, to the king Alfonso, who has been angry with me; I want to send to the lord thirty horses, all with saddles and very good bridles, and sharp swords hanging from the saddlebows.'[61] El Cid and Alvar Fáñez, both good knights, predicated their relationship with their lord upon violent action. What better way to be a good knight than to fight?

In the ideal chivalric world, kings understood this relationship. In the *Cantar*, King Alfonso is delighted with the plunder that comes back to him but refuses to receive El Cid back into his good graces. Still, the king acknowledges that 'it pleases me that my Cid has won so much.'[62] After the champion captures the city of Valencia, Alvar Fáñez once again brings news of his martial success to the king and gifts of plunder, including a hundred warhorses. King Alfonso proclaims his love for the great knight, sending El Cid's wife and daughters to join him in Valencia.[63] And finally, after El Cid defeats the wicked king of Morocco in battle, King Alfonso seeks reconciliation, proclaiming 'my kingdom will improve when he will serve me.'[64] The king then essentially begs to meet with El Cid so that the chivalric relationship between knight and king can be repaired. On numerous counts, El Cid runs this relationship – he names the location of the meeting, bestows gifts on the king, and watches as men leave the king's service to join El Cid's.[65] In short, the honor El Cid has won on the battlefield effectively repairs the relationship with his lord at the same time that it broadcasts his great reputation. Violence incubates El Cid's chivalric virtues.

[60] *Cid*, p. 132.
[61] *Ibid.*, pp. 149–50.
[62] *Ibid.*, p. 154.
[63] *Ibid.*, pp. 186–7.
[64] *Ibid.*, p. 216.
[65] *Ibid.*, pp. 220–31.

If the chivalric literature of the twelfth century offers a working theory of the connection between violence and loyalty, the actions of late medieval kings and knights confirm this connection in practice, as other bodies of evidence become available. In the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, the Niño family gained some amount of prominence as knights of the house of the king of Castile. Perhaps the greatest member of this family, Pero Niño, spent a lifetime in the service of King Enrique III (r. 1390–1406). In his biography, Pero Niño's life is marked by constant military service at the direction of King Enrique: against the Muslims of North Africa, against the pirates of the Mediterranean (some of whom apparently answered to the pope), against the English during the Hundred Years War, etc. When Pero Niño returned to Castile after a long military sojourn in France and England, King Enrique insisted that his loyal servant must be knighted, a request to which Pero Niño answered, 'Lord, I would have been knighted in other places and territories in which I have been … but, lord, it was always my will to receive this order of chivalry by your hand … And if I were not already armed now, I would not want to be knighted now, until you, lord, march out with your host in some conquest which your heart desires.'[66]

Assuming Pero Niño's biography bears some resemblance to the truth, both the knight and the king in this case connected the virtue of loyalty to violence performed in military service. Indeed, King Enrique goes on to declare to his newly minted knight, 'Pero Niño, my will is to put you into very great estate, and to send you into a conquest which will be honorable and good for you.'[67] Loyalty to one's lord, and the reciprocating love and reward granted by one's lord, was a key component of the sociopolitical element of medieval chivalry. At the heart of the bond of loyalty was an expectation – even a basic assumption – that knights would perform glorious deeds of prowess on the battlefield. They would encounter real danger but triumph over the enemy in grisly grandeur. The tripartite chivalric core of honor, loyalty, and prowess resonated strongly across Europe and throughout the middle ages.

When it came to the ideal of holy war, Iberian chivalry – in fits and starts – surpassed north-western chivalry's ostensibly divine undertaking. The southern Iberian frontier was western Europe's most direct and constant experience of the Islamic world for at least 500 years. And while the almost quotidian interaction with Islam provided opportunities for coexistence (what has been called *convivencia*), it also allowed for a more immediate and practical opportunity for

[66] Gutierre Díaz de Games, *El Victorial*, ed. R. Beltrán Llavador (Salamanca, 1997), pp. 650–1.
[67] *Ibid.*, p. 651.

religious warfare.[68] The European ideal of crusade found a particularly virulent manifestation in Iberia.

The early middle ages had witnessed slow movement back and forth between Christians and Muslims. By all indications, Iberian Christian warriors in most of the early and high middle ages did not conceive of a concerted effort to win back the lands of al-Andalus for Christendom. Instead, many battles and wars only incidentally transferred land, people, and fortifications from the Muslim world to the Christian world. Christians regularly made war on fellow Christians and allied with their Muslim neighbors, while Muslims regularly made war on fellow Muslims and allied with their Christian neighbors.[69]

Yet there was a slow movement (accentuated by key moments) towards an ideology of warfare and what would later be called *reconquista*. In the mid eleventh century, popes Alexander II (r. 1062–73) and Gregory VII (r. 1073–85) encourage Iberian and French knights to fight against the Muslims of al-Andalus, even promising Christian warriors some remission of sins if they undertook a holy war in Iberia.[70] Decades before Pope Urban II's (r. 1088–99) pivotal convocation of the First Crusade, the institutional church had stamped Iberian holy war with its apostolic blessing. Iberian knights and knightly writers may have been slow to internalize this message, but when they did it became a powerful and terrifying realization.

Perhaps the greatest articulation of the chivalric ideology of holy war in Iberia came in the fifteenth century. Late medieval Iberian knights argued that they had not only a divine duty but a historical duty to reclaim the Iberian peninsula from Muslim control. In the 1430s, Pedro de Corral, a man who likely had some experience of warfare himself, wrote the *Crónica del rey don Rodrigo*, also known

[68] The idea of *convivencia* between Christians, Muslims, and Jews in medieval Spain began with Américo Castro. See Castro, *España en su historia: cristianos, moros, y judíos* (Mexico City, 1948). While Castro's thesis received much attention during the twentieth century, more recent scholarly discussions about *convivencia* emphasize the nuanced realities of multifaith coexistence in medieval Spain. To a large degree, the state of the question in the last twenty years or so has settled on a very tenuous sort of coexistence that was premised on practicality in many cases and often broke down into violence. See D. Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1996); B. Catlos, *The Victors and the Vanquished: Christians and Muslims of Catalonia and Aragon, 1050–1300* (Cambridge, 2004); C. Lowney, *A Vanished World: Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Medieval Spain* (Oxford, 2005); and T. Devaney, *Enemies in the Plaza: Urban Spectacle and the End of Spanish Frontier Culture, 1460–1492* (Philadelphia, 2015).

[69] See for example D. J. Wasserstein, *The Rise and Fall of the Party-Kings: Politics and Society in Islamic Spain, 1002–1086* (Princeton, 1985).

[70] J. F. O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain* (Philadelphia, 2003), pp. 24–31.

as the *Crónica sarracina*.[71] Corral blended historical tragedy with divine mandate to present a compelling story to the chivalric class of late medieval Iberia.[72] *Rodrigo* follows the semi-historical story of King Rodrigo, the last Visigothic king of a unified Spain. According to Corral, Rodrigo's own bad behavior, including raping a woman named La Cava, the daughter of the powerful Count Julián, led to Julián's rebellion against Rodrigo's rule and Julián's invitation to the Muslims of north Africa to invade Iberia. The rest, as they say, is history. Muslim forces invaded and conquered Iberia because of Rodrigo's sinful nature and his abandoning of both a Christian moral code and a martial dedication. It was only with Rodrigo's death and the rise of King Pelayo, a great Christian hero and chivalric knight, that the Christians of Iberia began pushing back the Muslims. For Corral, Rodrigo's failure to follow God's will placed him on the wrong side of history. He had upset the march of history and it was incumbent upon Pelayo and his heirs (the kings and knights of fifteenth-century Iberia) to correct this historical wrong through their dedication to a divinely sanctioned war against Islam.[73]

Pedro de Corral had built upon the ideological foundation of holy war that crusading theology and theory provided. Late medieval Iberian knights could rest assured that their eternal souls were not endangered by their martial lifestyle but actually protected and preserved. In this, they had much in common with English or French knights. But Iberians could also rest assured that even as they performed redemptive violence and suffered meritoriously, they were simultaneously securing the historical destiny of Spain.

It would appear that Christian Iberian knights of the fifteenth century – particularly those living in Castile – embraced the ideal of holy war. On the death of King Enrique III, his infant son, Juan II, came to the throne and two of the boy's relatives were appointed as his regents: his uncle Fernando and his mother Catalina. Within a year of his appointment as regent late in 1406, Fernando resolved to renew the holy war with the Muslim Kingdom of Granada. Over the next several years, Fernando would lead Castilian troops to the south to press the holy war. But individual knights also took the initiative themselves to act as soldiers of God in defeating their religious enemies.

In 1408, for example, three separate prominent knights took advantage of the state of war between Castile and Granada to fight against their southern neighbors. Garci Fernández Manrique, a knight of the southern frontier, followed Fernando's lead and led an assault on Granada, raiding as far south as Marbella

[71] Pedro de Corral, *Crónica del rey don Rodrigo (Crónica sarracina)*, ed. J. D. Fogelquist (Madrid, 2001), I, pp. 8–14.

[72] Juan Manuel Cacho Blecua, 'Los historiadores de la "Crónica sarracina"', in *Historias y ficciones: Coloquio sobre la literatura del siglo xv*, ed. R. Beltrán, J. L. Canet and J. L. Sirera (Valencia, 1992), pp. 37–55.

[73] Pedro de Corral, *Crónica del rey don Rodrigo*.

and Gibraltar, cities on the Mediterranean coast. He captured a large number of cattle, sheep, and horses, and returned home.[74] The chronicler Fernán Pérez de Guzmán records this event and notes that Manrique and his brothers were 'very good knights' and that 'they labored very well in [the raid].'[75] The same year, Fernán Gutiérrez de Vallecillo led an assault across the border and killed many Muslims, though he lost many of his own Christian soldiers as well. Finally, Fernán Dárias de Sayavedra raided across the border near the town of Ronda, ordering his men that 'they should kill all the Moors that they should meet in the field.'[76] Sayavedra's raid began by taking cattle and sheep, but the enemy sent a real army into the field to resist. Guzmán records that the Christians were outnumbered but that Sayavedra told his men that 'though the Moors are many, the power of God will be greater, and that many times it had happened that few Christians had conquered many Moors, and so to trust in God that he would be there that day, and that those who died there would save their souls.'[77] Sayavedra and his men ultimately succeeded.

The chivalric virtue of honor was also a key part of the knightly approach to holy war in the Iberian context. Knights saw holy war as an opportunity not only to avenge the shame that Christian Spain had suffered with the Muslim invasion of 711, but also to pursue their more immediate familial and personal honor. The Guzmán family of Andalucía, for example, participated in the holy war for centuries. By the fifteenth century, individuals such as Juan de Guzmán were not only winning honor for themselves on the battlefields of southern Iberia, but also avenging the deaths of their ancestors, thereby vindicating their families' honor on the battlefield.[78]

The renewed appetite for holy war would continue during the regency of Fernando; in 1410, Fernando conquered the town of Antequera, bringing Castile its first major victory in the holy war in more than 150 years. Between 1410 and 1481, the monarchy would slow its commitment to holy war but the knights of the realm would become more and more committed to conquering Muslim territory. In literature, chronicles, and frontier ballads, Castilian knights celebrated the deeds of individuals such as Fernán Dárias de Sayavedra and occasionally even broke the king's truces with Granada in order to seek their own honor, glory, and spiritual reward.[79] The conquest of Granada in 1492 was not simply

[74] Fernán Pérez de Guzmán, *Cronica del señor rey don Juan, segundo de este nombre en castilla y en leon*, ed. L. Galíndez de Carvajal (Valencia, 1779), pp. 64–5.
[75] *Ibid.*, p. 65.
[76] *Ibid.*, p. 65.
[77] *Ibid.*, p. 65.
[78] *Historia de los hechos del marqués de Cádiz*, ed. J. L. Carriazo Rubio (Granada, 2003). See especially Carriazo Rubio's editorial introduction, pp. 15–29.
[79] For a ballad of Sayavedra, see *Antología de poetas líricos castellanos*, VIII: *Romances viejos castellanos*, ed. F. J. Wolf and C. Hofmann (Madrid, 1899), pp. 144–5. For evidence of the

a geopolitical convenience for Queen Isabel and King Fernando; it grew out of the historical and divine imperative for holy war that had been articulated by individuals such as Pedro de Corral. Ultimately, the same impulse toward religious violence articulated by crusaders in north-western Europe was mutated into a much more immediate, nationalistic, and personal imperative by Castilian knights and chivalric writers.

Chivalry exercised a powerful influence on the practice of violence among knights and arms bearers across Europe. Chivalry's foundational pillars, prowess and honor, naturally promoted and valorized an identity and lifestyle centered on the privileged practice of violence, especially in the context of war, crusade, and when personal and familial honor were on the line. While chivalric ideology *could* serve as a force to restrain the worst extremes of this violence, the tensions inherent in chivalry meant that these reform messages were often buried in unadulterated praise and promotion of bloody violence.

breaking of a truce, see P. L. de Ayala, *Crónicas de los reyes de castilla*, II, ed. E. de Llaguno Amirola (Madrid, 1780), pp. 511–19.

7

Chivalry in the Tournament and Pas d'Armes

RICHARD BARBER

The history of the tournament gives us the clearest picture of the development of chivalry, and also illustrates the distinction, which only exists in English, between chivalry and knighthood. Tournaments begin with an entirely practical purpose: training knights and honing their military skills. Their origins are in the world of warfare and training for warfare, but they quickly cross into the world of games, and evolve in ways which are clearly of no military value. They may serve to identify the most skilful knights, and to create a bond among the participants which transcends ordinary loyalties. However, once the tournament ceases simply to be a military exercise and takes on the nature of sport, it gradually becomes a social occasion. By the fifteenth century the actual jousting is simply one element in an elaborate spectacle which draws together many aspects of chivalric culture.

A training ground for warfare

We know very little about the training of a knight in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The skills required for fighting in armour and on horseback were acquired, it would seem, in the same way that riding was learnt, informally and within the knightly household. In Chrétien de Troyes' romance *Perceval*, the hero comes to Arthur's court ignorant of knightly matters and armed only with a javelin. He kills a knight who has insulted the king, tries to strip him of his armour, and has to be shown how to do it. Likewise, he has to be instructed in knightly ways. The lord who teaches him first enquires how he manages his horse, and then mounts Perceval's horse to show him how to handle shield, lance and sword:

> And he unfurled the pennon and showed the boy how a shield should be held, making it hang forward a little till it was touching the horse's neck; then he set the lance in its rest and spurred his horse on. It was worth a hundred marks, that horse: none ever charged with more will, more speed or more power. The nobleman was highly skilled with shield and horse and lance, having practised the art

> since childhood, and everything he did thrilled and delighted the boy. When he'd finished his fine mock-combat, watched by the boy with rapt attention, he returned to him with lance raised …[1]

There are no formal manuals on horsemanship until the fifteenth century,[2] and these skills were simply passed on by word of mouth and by example.

Equally, there are no manuals from the twelfth century about the conduct of knights in battle or the way in which they fought.[3] In practical terms, however, we do know something of how knights learnt to fight together. First of all, they had to learn to ride together in formation, and there seems to have been a tenuous tradition of this as a sporting activity going back to the military displays of the classical world. Equestrian games were described by Virgil in the first century BC in *The Aeneid*, at the funeral of Anchises, Aeneas's father. In these games, horsemen first rode in formation 'and then … charged with lances couched', before making 'a pretence of armed battle, sometimes exposing their backs in flight and sometimes turning their spear-points for attack'.[4] Similar manoeuvres, perhaps a deliberate imitation of Virgil's famous poem, took place when Charlemagne's grandsons celebrated a treaty of alliance at Verdun in 843.[5]

The first secure evidence for the medieval tournament appears in the early twelfth century. There are two dubious references by a chronicler in the early thirteenth century to tournaments in 1062 and 1066 at Angers, which are sometimes cited as evidence for eleventh-century events of this kind.[6] But there is no doubt about the reality of the *tornationes* in which Charles, count of Flanders, fought in the third decade of the twelfth century, because his biography was written by Galbert of Bruges, a notary from his court, very soon after his murder in 1129. Galbert describes how Charles travelled to France to fight in these events 'for the honour of his land and to train his knights'.[7] Military games during sieges are recorded at Würzburg in 1127, Ludlow in 1139 and Winchester in 1141. And in

[1] *The Complete Story of the Grail: Chrétien de Troyes'* Perceval *and its Continuations*, trans. N. Bryant (Cambridge, 2015), p. 14.

[2] It was only in about 1434 that Duarte I, king of Portugal, wrote one of the earliest manuals, *Livro da ensinança de bem cavalgar*, ed. J. M. Piel (Lisbon 1944), English language edition, trans. A. and L. Preto (Highland Village, TX, 2005).

[3] The standard text for military matters was Vegetius' treatise *Epitoma Rei Militari*, written in the late fourth century and adapted and translated into several European languages during the middle ages.

[4] Virgil, *Aeneid*, Bk V, ll.577–600, trans. W. F. Jackson Knight (Harmondsworth, 1956), p. 137.

[5] Nithard, *Carolingian Chronicles*, ed. J. W. Schole (Ann Arbor, MI, 1978), p. 164.

[6] *Recueil des chroniques de Touraine*, ed. André Salmon (Tours, 1854), xvi, p. 125; xxxviii, p. 189.

[7] Galbert of Bruges, *Histoire du meurtre de Charles le Bon,* ed. H. Pirenne (Paris, 1891), p. 9.

1095 the count of Brabant was killed at a pre-arranged military game at Tournai.[8] All this points to some kind of mock combat as a recognised form of military exercise, whether to while away the time during the boredom of a siege or as actual training in times of peace.

The tournament as a stand-alone event seems to have developed in north-eastern France and the neighbouring counties of Flanders and Hainault, and this area remained its traditional centre for over a century. Tournaments had been banned in France and England because they were liable to degenerate into real fighting; although the French king claimed some degree of overlordship in north-east France, Hainault and Flanders, his authority was weak. We first hear of series of tournaments in this area in the 1170s and the 1180s. Henry, count of Champagne, and Philip, count of Flanders, were both enthusiasts for the tournament, and they were joined by Henry II's eldest son, Henry the Young King. The Young King had been crowned in 1170, and was technically co-ruler of England, but he was frustrated in his political ambitions because his father was reluctant to allow him to play any real part in government. His followers were young noblemen, only recently knighted, eldest sons who were waiting to come into their inheritance and younger sons whose best chance in life was to earn their living by fighting. It was to these tournaments that they came to learn the skills of knighthood. If the chronicles are to be believed, tournaments were held almost fortnightly in the region at this time. Such events became a *rite de passage*: a period – perhaps months, perhaps years – of knightly apprenticeship spent on the tourneying circuits of northern France.

We owe our knowledge of these tournaments to the chance survival of the biography of William Marshal, whose prowess at the tournament attracted the attention of Henry the Young King; he became a legend in his own lifetime.[9] When he fell out of favour with his royal master, both Henry of Champagne and Philip of Flanders eagerly sought his services, because they recognised his abilities from encounters in the lists. Despite financially attractive offers, however, William remained loyal to the Young King, whose martial training had been entrusted to him.

At William's first outing, at Le Mans in 1167, riding a borrowed mount in the company of his lord, William of Tancarville, he won four and a half horses for himself together with a similar number of horses for his esquires. This success, together with his own lack of prospects as the second son of the castellan of Marlborough castle, encouraged him to adopt a hard-headed and business-like

[8] See D. Crouch, *Tournament* (London, 2005), pp. 4–5, 10. His introductory chapter is a very good survey of the early evidence. R. Barber and J. V. Barker, *Tournaments* (Woodbridge, 1989), remains the best overall work on the subject.

[9] *L'Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal*, ed. P. Meyer, 3 vols (Paris, 1891); *History of William the Marshal,* ed. A. J. Holden, trans. S. Gregory, 3 vols (London, 2002–06).

approach. William's object was to win as much booty, in the form of ransoms, horses and equipment, as possible. He even went so far as to enter into a partnership with Roger de Gaugy, another knight of the Young King's household. For two years they followed the tourneying circuit, dividing their winnings. A royal clerk noted that in the ten months between Pentecost and Lent, they captured 103 knights, together with their horses, harness and baggage.[10]

However, although the descriptions of tournaments in the history of William Marshal are some of the fullest in medieval sources, the details of the fighting are perfunctory. The companies line up to face one another; one company usually conducts itself in a disciplined and orderly fashion, the other in a disorganised muddle, as the leaders vie for the privilege of striking the first blow. Wolfram von Eschenbach, writing at about the time of William Marshal's death in 1219, speaks of five recognised manoeuvres: 'Tourneying knows of five thrusts – these have been delivered by my hand. One is the head-on charge. The second I know as the side-charge. The third is to await the opponent's attack. I have ridden the good formal joust at full tilt. Nor have I avoided the charge in pursuit of the opponent.'[11] Four of these are probably executed by a body of knights. The 'good formal joust' is presumably the one-to-one encounter which was to become the principal feature of later tournaments. Though outstanding feats of arms and public acclamation of success are valued, it is victory and booty which are the prime concerns.

The value of the tournament as a training for warfare was recognised by Richard I when in 1194 he permitted tournaments to be fought in England, lifting the ban seemingly imposed by his father: the chronicler William of Newburgh tells us that he did so because the French knights who fought in them had an advantage over the English: 'The famous King Richard, observing that the extra training and instruction of the French made them correspondingly fiercer in war, wished that the knights of his kingdom should train in their own lands, so that they could learn from tourneying the art and custom of war.'[12]

The narrow distinction between these occasions and real warfare is underlined by a number of episodes where local rivalries came to the fore. The division into tournament teams was usually decided by the area from which the participants came, but an alignment of teams contrary to custom could cause real offence. At a tournament between Gournay and Resson in 1169, Baldwin of Hainault joined the French (who would otherwise have been outnumbered) instead of his natural allies, the Flemish. Philip of Flanders was so infuriated that

[10] *L'Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal*, I, lines 3414–21.

[11] The five are *zem puneiz, ze triviers, zentmuoten, ze rehter tjost, zer volge.* Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Parzival*, trans. C. Edwards (Cambridge, 2004), p. 260, stanza 812.

[12] William of Newburgh, 'Historia rerum anglicarum', in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, ed. R. Howlett (London, 1885), II, pp. 422–3.

he immediately attacked with all his horse and foot drawn up 'as if for the purpose of battle'.[13]

Furthermore, this was a highly dangerous sport, and the number of fatal injuries was large. We usually only hear of these when men such as Henry II's son Geoffrey, count of Brittany, or Leopold, duke of Austria, were killed. However, these were only a fraction of the casualties: in 1175, Archbishop Wichmann of Magdeburg ordered that the church's decree of excommunication and refusal of ecclesiastical burial to those killed in tournaments should be strictly observed. This was in response to the death of Conrad, son of a local margrave, and to the fact that this 'plague of a sport', as the chronicler calls tournaments, had already claimed the lives of sixteen knights in Saxony that year.[14]

The Emergence of Chivalric Ideals

Where then, you may well ask, is the chivalry in all this? *The History of William Marshal* gives another side of the tournament. It was, after all, a sport, an occasion for knights and their followers to meet socially and at leisure. There is one brief glimpse of spectators and the presence of ladies. At a tournament at Joigny in Burgundy in the late 1170s, the knights were joined by the countess of Joigny and her ladies and attendants.[15] The ensuing scene is much quoted, but it is important to remember that it is the only example in the whole book:

> The knights rose up from the ranks
> To meet them, as was fit and proper.
> They were convinced that they had become better men
> As a result of the ladies' arrival,
> And so they had, for all those there
> Felt a doubling of strength in mind and body,
> And of their bold courage.
> One of them said: 'Come on, let us dance
> While we are waiting,
> We will be less bored.'
> So they took one another by the hand.
> One man asked: 'Who will be
> Kind enough to sing for us?'
> The Marshal, who had a good voice

[13] Gilbert of Mons, *Chronicle of Hainaut*, trans. L. Napran (Woodbridge, 2005), p. 57.
[14] 'Chronicon Montis Sereni', in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores* XXIII (Hanover, 1874), pp. 155–6.
[15] She was the mother-in-law of King John, Alice de Courtenay.

But who in no way boasted about it,
Then began to sing a song
In a pure, sweet tone.
He gave much pleasure to those present,
And they willingly joined in his song.
And, when he had finished his song,
Which gave them much pleasure and delight,
A young singer,
Recently made a herald-at-arms,
Began to sing a new song.
I do not know who was the subject of it,
But the refrain contained the words: 'Marshal,
Come on, give me a trusty steed!'[16]

At which the Marshal slipped quietly away and returned a few minutes later, having unseated a knight in the fighting and won his horse, which he presented to the singer. The company were astonished, as they thought he was still dancing, and declared it was the finest deed ever seen at a tournament.

This is not the first such mention of ladies as an inspiration to knightly deeds, one of the most important chivalric elements in tournaments. Indeed, the theme first appears, rather unexpectedly, half a century earlier in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the Kings of Britain*, the book which established Arthur as a historical figure for much of the middle ages. Geoffrey describes how, at Arthur's crown-wearing at Whitsun at Caerleon, a great ceremonial banquet was held, and he continues:

> So noble was Britain then that it surpassed other kingdoms in its stores of wealth, the ostentation of its dress and the sophistication of its inhabitants. All its doughty knights wore clothes and armour of a single colour. Its elegant ladies, similarly dressed, spurned the love of any man who had not proved himself three times in battle. So the ladies were chaste and better women, whilst the knights conducted themselves more virtuously for the sake of their love.
>
> When at last they had had their fill at the banquets, they separated to visit the fields outside the city and indulge in varied sports. The knights exercised on horseback, feigning battle. The ladies, watching from the battlements, playfully fanned the flames in the knights' hearts into furious passion.[17]

The idea of love as an inspiration for knightly deeds comes into its own in the romances of authors such as Chrétien de Troyes in the second half of the

[16] *History of William the Marshal*, I, pp. 176–9, 3464–90.
[17] Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain*, ed. M. Reeve, trans. N. Wright (Woodbridge, 2007), p. 212.

twelfth century. Chrétien is the greatest of a number of writers who worked in this new form, and he set his stories in the context of King Arthur's court. Furthermore, we have already met his patrons, Henry, count of Champagne, and Philip, count of Flanders, as devotees of the tournament. The importance of this connection cannot be over-emphasised for Henry of Champagne was married to the daughter of Eleanor of Aquitaine, and his brothers-in-law were Henry the Young King, Geoffrey of Brittany and Richard I. They and their knights were pre-eminent in the tournaments of the 1170s and 1180s, and part of the entertainment there was to listen to poets and storytellers. Arnold II of Guines, who 'went to tournaments whenever he could' in the years around 1200, kept men in his household who knew these stories: Robert of Coutances told the tales of King Arthur, and Walter of Le Clud related the romances of Tristan and Isolde and Merlin.[18] Patronage of chivalrous sport and courtly literature went hand in hand. Naturally, because they were catering for the interests of tourneyers, the romance writers dwelt at great length on the sport and painted it in glowing colours. This, in turn, helped to give tournaments greater prestige because they played such a decisive role in the lives of romance heroes. Thus a kind of symbiosis developed between tournaments and courtly literature, each feeding the other and thereby encouraging their mutual development.

In the romance of *Erec et Enide*, his first surviving work dating from about 1170, Chrétien describes the splendid display at a tournament, dwelling on the pennants, the painted lances, the gilded and coloured helmets: the shields are only briefly mentioned, 'fresh and new, resplendent in silver and red, others blue with gold bosses'.[19] A decade or more later, in *Lancelot*, we find the queen and her ladies sitting with knights who, for various reasons, cannot participate in the tournament. The knights explain the arms of those in the field to the ladies:

> 'Do you see the one now with the golden band across the red shield? That's Governal of Roberdic. And can you see that next one with an eagle and a dragon painted side by side on his shield? That's the son of the King of Aragon, who has come to this country to win honour and renown. And can you see the one beside him who is spurring so hard and jousting so well, the one with part of his shield green with a leopard painted on it and the other half azure? That's the much-loved Ignaures, the popular lover …' Such were the explanations given in the stands.[20]

Courtly love, as it came to be known, is so central to the romances that it is tempting to take for granted the scenes they describe. There is no doubt that

[18] Lambert of Ardres, *The History of the Counts of Guines and Lords of Ardres,* trans. L. Shopkow (Philadelphia, 2001), p. 130.

[19] 'Erec et Enide', trans. D. D. R. Owen, in Chrétien de Troyes, *Arthurian Romances* (London, 1987), p. 29, ll. 2135ff.

[20] 'Lancelot', in *ibid.*, pp. 262–3, ll. 5783ff.

women were present at tournaments from an early date, and that they were eager spectators of the new sport: but, apart from the description of the Joigny tournament, hard evidence is surprisingly difficult to come by. They certainly presented prizes, though this does not necessarily mean they were at the event. William Marshal won a prize at a tournament in the 1170s which is often said to have been presented by a lady. In fact it was given to the duke of Burgundy, a participant in the tournament, who decided to make it the prize for the occasion, and the lady does not even seem to have been present.[21] A letter from Robert Fitzwalter to William of Aubigny about a tournament to be held near Staines in 1216 says that 'he who performs best there shall have a bear, which a certain lady is sending to the tournament'.[22] There is evidence in contemporary manuscript illuminations from the early thirteenth century, and at the same period the first evidence outside the romances of the custom of wearing 'favours' in the lists comes from the preacher Jacques de Vitry in his *Exempla*, when he describes how tournaments lead to the sin of lust: 'When they wish to please shameless women, if they are skilled in arms, they are accustomed to carry some sign from them almost like a banner.'[23]

Ladies took part in fourteenth-century tournaments as partners to their knights, either leading or being led by them in procession to the lists. The earliest example is in 1331 at William Montagu's jousts in Cheapside, where the knights led the ladies by silver chains; by the end of the century, Edward III's mistress Alice Perrers and her ladies led the knights by their horse's bridle.[24]

Arms of Courtesy, the 'Round Tables' and Arthurian Tournaments

An important element in chivalry was the moderation of violence, so it is not surprising that the next development in the differentiation between the realities of war and the action in a tournament was the use of blunted weapons, later called 'arms of courtesy'. The sword was blunted, and the lance had a coronal, a ring like a crown, on the end, which prevented the point from causing injuries. We first hear of this in 1252: at a tournament at Saffron Walden, Roger de Leyburne jousted with Arnold de Munteny. Roger's lance penetrated his opponent's armour and went into his throat, killing him. When, on the orders of the earl

[21] *History of William Marshal*, I, pp. 154–5, 3042ff.

[22] *Matthaei Parisiensis monachi Sancti Albani Chronica Majora* II, ed. H. R. Luard (London 1874), p. 615.

[23] Jacques de Vitry, *Exempla*, ed. T. Crane (London 1890), p. 63. 'Almost like a banner' implies that the favour was probably attached to the lance, rather than to the knight's armour.

[24] J. R. V. Barker, *The Tournament in England, 1100–1400* (Woodbridge, 1986), p. 109.

of Gloucester, the head of the lance was extracted, it was found to have a very sharp point instead of a 'coronal' at the end, which should have blunted it. This led to a suspicion that Roger had deliberately killed Arnold, though no charges were brought.[25] We also hear of tournaments in 'linen' armour, probably padded or quilted, and later armour made from *cuir bouilli*, boiled leather, reinforced with whalebone. As in the case of the Saffron Walden tournament, these are usually mentioned when an accident has occurred and a knight has been killed. At Blyth in 1256, when Edward I tourneyed for the first time, using linen armour, the earl of Salisbury, William Longspee, died of his wounds, and other knights were severely injured.[26]

All this implies that tournaments were becoming increasingly formal. In the wide-ranging encounters of the 1170s, the knights fought in retinues across a loosely defined area of countryside.[27] At William Marshal's first tournament, we hear of areas in which the knights could assemble before joining the fray, and where they could take shelter to recover, but otherwise 'this was no formal joust;/ there was not a single word of argument spoken/ except winning or losing all'.[28] It would have been impossible to judge who had performed best, or indeed to see much of the action. By the end of the twelfth century, there must have been a much more limiting enclosure, with stands for spectators, and evidently some rules. And the way in which the criers encouraged the knights implies that they were within sight.[29] The impression is of a relatively large defined area which formed the tournament field; if a pursuit developed, however, knights might well go beyond it.

There were evidently rules for the tournament from an early date, agreed by the participants, but the earliest tangible evidence for these is Edward I's *Statuta Armorum* of 1292, which is more concerned with the preservation of public order than the relations between competitors.[30] The first surviving set of regulations appears to be those contained in the statutes of the chivalric Order of the Sash founded by Alfonso IX of Castile in 1330.[31] These contain two separate chapters on the *mêlée* tournament and the joust. In the tournament, weapons must be

[25] *Matthaei Parisiensis monachi Sancti Albani Chronica Majora* V, ed. H. R. Luard (London, 1880), pp. 318–19.

[26] *Ibid.,* p. 557.

[27] *History of William Marshal,* I, pp. 140–1, 2773–5.

[28] These were called *recez* and were probably fenced off. *History of William Marshal,* I, pp. 66–7, 1304ff. '… no formal joust …': *ibid.,* I, pp. 66–9, 1310–12.

[29] The term used is *hirauts*, in the original meaning of public announcers.

[30] There is no good printed edition of the Statute of Arms, despite a number of translations: see Barker, *Tournament in England*, pp. 191–2.

[31] N. Fallows, 'Die früheste schriftliche Quelle zum Turnierwesen: Das kastilische Buch des Orden de la Banda (um 1330)', in *Turnier: 1000 Jahre Ritterspiele*, ed. S. Krauss and M. Pfaffenbucher (Wien, 2017), pp. 32–63.

checked to see that they are blunted, and blows to the face or on someone who has lost his helm are forbidden. The judging and presentation of prizes are regulated: the number of judges is to be two for each side for thirty knights or fewer, eight for fifty knights, and twelve for a hundred knights. The decisions must have taken some time.

While it was often difficult to settle on a victor in a *mêlée* tournament, the joust could give a clear-cut winner. The regulations in the statutes of the Order of the Sash specify the way in which points were to be scored. This depended on the number of lances broken in the encounter, whether a knight knocked off his opponent's helm and whether one or both knights were unhorsed. To break a lance and to knock off a helm counted as equal; two lances broken were equal to unhorsing your opponent without breaking a lance. If both horse and rider fell and the other knight fell from his saddle, the first knight won, because in the first case the fall was regarded as the horse's fault.

The Tournament as Chivalric Ritual

The tournament had become safe enough by the second half of the thirteenth century for it to develop in a different way, as a kind of festival of chivalry. The enthusiasm for Arthurian romance was at its height in the years around 1223, when the first mention of a tournament with 'imitation of the adventures of the Round Table' appears, held by the Frankish lord of Beirut. The 'round table' was to become a specific form of joust, and we hear of the holding of round tables throughout Europe until as late as 1344, when the real military activity of the Hundred Years War led to a lull in tournament activity. For a century and a half, however, this form of event was all the rage, combining the chivalric fantasies of the romances with the reality of knightly sport.

The autobiography of Ulrich von Lichtenstein, a knight from Styria, is a wonderful mixture of fact and fiction, but there does seem to be some historical value in what he has to say. According to his own account, he undertook two journeys in the course of which he jousted with all comers, one in honour of Venus and his first lady in 1227, another in honour of Arthur and a new lady after the first had rejected him in 1240. The beginning of this journey is missing in the only copy of the text, but from the outset we are in an Arthurian play.[32] Ulrich gives the knights who challenge him Arthurian names, and admits them to the 'round table', which is the name he gives to the whole enterprise. Much of the journey was taken up by individual jousts, but there was a major encounter at Neustadt, outside Vienna, towards the end of his travels. The tent of the round table was

[32] Ulrich von Liechtenstein, *Frauendienst*, stanzas 1400–619, trans. V. Spechtler (Klagenfurt 2000), pp. 493–553.

pitched and a ring was set up, surrounded by banners and spears planted in the ground. 'Arthur' selects 'Gawain' (Ulrich's brother Heinrich), 'Yvain' and 'Lancelot' to defend it against all comers until nightfall.

The next day other Arthurian knights appear: 'there were many jousts here and there in the field, and the cry of "Hurta, hurta" went up'. There were musicians too, playing flutes, trumpets, drums and shawms, even though the noise of the fighting often drowned their efforts. The jousting lasted for six days, much of which was taken up by general *mêlées*, and only ended when Leopold, duke of Austria, sent a message ordering the knights to cease on pain of his anger.

Ulrich's round table is clearly a fantasy of his own, and the naming of the knights a literary conceit. Nonetheless, the 'round table' tournament was a distinctive type of event. Matthew Paris records the occasion at which Arnold de Munteny died in 1252 as a round table, but we have no details of what distinguished it from an ordinary tournament.[33] The regulations for a tournament at Mons in 1339 survive, which specify the types of armour and weapons permitted, and these may well have been the standard form for a 'round table' joust, in which all the participants agreed to abide by certain rules, swearing an oath to that effect. Such an oath is recorded in the Mons document.[34]

The first tournament for which we have a full narrative is an event at Le Hem in Picardy in north-eastern France in 1278. It was a local affair, organised by two young lords from Artois.[35] For the first time there is a detailed account of the 'plot' of the tournament, and of the Arthurian characters who appeared in it. The event begins on the eve of St Denis, 9 October, when 'Guinevere' arrives at Hem with a large retinue. During supper, the first interlude is acted out: 'Soredamors' appears and begs for the queen's help against her rival, who has imprisoned her beloved. At dawn the next day, 'Kay' appears for the first joust, but meanwhile news comes that four of the queen's ladies have been imprisoned in a local castle, after they were sent to invite ladies of the neighbourhood to come to the tournament. 'The Knight with the Lion' goes in search of them, and rescues them by defeating their captor, the 'Lord of the Wooden Castle'. In the second interlude, the 'Lord of the Wooden Castle' is sent by 'the Knight with the Lion' to surrender to the queen, accompanied by six knights. When they arrive, the jousts

[33] *Matthæi Parisiensis, monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica Majora*, V, pp. 318–19.

[34] A curious feature of the rules is the last clause, which requires combatants to swear that they have no 'sorceries' with them, including 'secret names and real names' which feature in cabbalistic magic. See A. Behaut de Doron, 'Un tournoi à Mons au xive siècle', *Annales du cercle archéologique du Mons* XIX (Mons, 1886), pp. 395–411.

[35] Sarrasin, *Le roman du Hem*, ed. A. Henry, Travaux de la faculté de philosophie et lettres de l'Université de Bruxelles IX (Paris 1938); N. F. Regalado, 'Performing Romance: Arthurian Interludes in Sarrasin's *Le roman du Hem* (1278)', in *Performing Medieval Narrative*, ed. E. B. Vitz, N. F. Regalado and M. Lawrence (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 103–19.

begin, and continue when the four ladies and 'the Knight with the Lion' return. The lion is terrified by the noise.

Further interludes based on themes from the romances – a knight imprisoned by his lady in a wicker cage, and a girl mistreated by her lover for praising 'Guinevere's' knights – follow, and the day ends with feasts and dancing. The next day is entirely occupied by fifty-six jousts, at the end of which 'the Knight with the Lion' and the count of Clermont accompany 'Guinevere' back to her court, where a further twenty jousts are held by torchlight.

All the characters are drawn from the Arthurian poems of Chrétien de Troyes. Soredamors is Gawain's sister, and Kay is Arthur's bad-tempered steward. 'The Knight with the Lion' is Yvain, hero of the romance of that name. Many of the other knights appear in the records in the king's service or on crusade, so despite the local nature of the event, it was evidently a distinguished gathering. Although the occasion is never called a 'round table', it is quite evident that it is a successor to Ulrich von Lichtenstein's combination of literature and sport, and the detailed plot shows how jousting and play-acting could be intertwined.

The pretence was carried to elaborate lengths: the identity of 'the Knight with the Lion' was the subject of much speculation, and when he lost his helm in a joust, he hid his face but was forced to admit that he was Robert II, count of Artois. This apparently accidental unveiling of the star actor is underlined by the fact that none of the other players has their identity revealed. Other knights appear as themselves, and this mixture of reality and fiction heightens the illusion. The entry of 'the Knight with the Lion' is carefully choreographed, with singers and musicians as well as the eleven actors, and forms an elaborate set-piece at the centre of the proceedings. We shall return to these dramatic frameworks when we come to the fifteenth century tournaments.

Royal Tournaments

At the beginning of the fourteenth century, there is a very distinct shift in the organisation of tournaments, which move from being something almost spontaneous, driven by the enthusiasm of local lords, to an integral part of royal courtly festivities. This begins in England under Edward I, whose personal love of jousting is well recorded, and who was one of three English kings – Richard I and Edward III being the others – to encourage the sport. A series of round tables and tournaments in the last years of his reign included one for which the famous Arthurian round table at Winchester was probably made. On 8 September 1285, Edward I held a mass knighting of men who, because they held land to the value of £100 or more, should have taken up knighthood but had failed to do so. Normally, writs were sent out saying that they should be knighted by a certain date, but in this instance they were summoned to Winchester to be knighted by the

king at a specified time. It was as part of this gathering that the Round Table seems to have been made, and expenditure on the castle in that year implies that a tournament, which was to become a frequent feature of knighting ceremonies, was indeed held.[36]

That the personal enthusiasm of the monarch was critical if tournaments were to flourish was emphasised in the troubled years of Edward II. These were the polar opposites of chivalric occasions. Edward himself did joust but seems not to have taken much pleasure in it. It was his favourite, Piers Gaveston, who attempted to continue the tourneying tradition of the previous reign. Soon after the king's accession, Gaveston held a tournament at Wallingford against the leading magnates of England. He was newly returned from an exile imposed by Edward I because of his undue influence over his son, and he raised a large force of the younger knights of the kingdom who roundly defeated the earls of Arundel, Hertford and Surrey and their retinues. The atmosphere became so poisonous that Gaveston himself requested the cancellation of a tournament at Stepney. When the barons pointedly stayed away from a tournament at Kennington organised by Edward, the king responded by banning tournaments in a series of edicts in the following years, as the tensions between him and the magnates erupted into civil war.

Equally, John, king of Bohemia, was unsuccessful in establishing royal jousts. In 1319, he and other Bohemian knights announced a 'court of King Arthur' for which scaffolds were erected in one of Prague's marketplaces: but no outsiders responded to the invitation, and the would-be 'defenders' had to joust among themselves. Two years later, another great tournament was held in Prague, at Shrovetide; again, there do not seem to have been any foreigners present, but this time Bohemian knights fought eagerly amongst themselves, and when King John entered the lists he was knocked from his horse by a lance-thrust, and trampled on by the horses. Unconscious and covered in mud, he had to be dragged to safety by his servants.

Having failed to attract foreigners to his jousts at home, John was to be found at other European courts in pursuit of his favourite sport. In 1324, having raised a huge ransom from Frederick, duke of Austria, he held a tournament at Cambrai in honour of the marriage of Charles IV and Jeanne d'Evreux. Reports of his deeds were rife, and increasingly wild rumours were current: in one year, he was said to have travelled from the Atlantic to the border of eastern Poland, taking part in jousts all along his journey, while on another occasion he was said to have killed a knight in a Burgundian tournament. It was said that his choice of a second wife, Beatrice, daughter of the duke of Bourbon, was influenced by her

[36] M. Morris, 'Edward I and the Knights of the Round Table', in *Foundations of Medieval Scholarship: records edited in honour of David Crook*, ed. P. Brand and S. Cunningham (York, 2008), pp. 57–76.

love of tournaments; she gave him magnificent presents whenever he was the victor.[37]

In England, Edward III used tournaments in a very different way. His tutor in the lists was Roger Mortimer, whose influence over Edward's mother Isabella became intolerable to the young king. Mortimer seems to have organised tournaments to keep the young king out of the political arena: there were no fewer than eighteen in 1328–29. But it was with his tourneying companions that he succeeded in overthrowing Mortimer and the queen in 1330. Thereafter he led for a time what a chronicler called 'a jolly young life',[38] and the tournaments continued, seventeen in 1330–31 and seven in 1334. But the Scottish wars, which had interrupted the series in 1333, prevented any further activity in the lists between 1335 and the outbreak of hostilities with France in 1337. Thereafter tournaments resumed in the intervals between campaigns, and faded out to one or two a year until 1363. Edward used tournaments well: his companions in the lists were the commanders of his army, and their fellowship in the lists created a valuable *esprit de corps*.

The Tournament as Spectacle

Charles VI of France, before his love of festivities supposedly brought on his feeble-minded condition in 1392, was an avid jouster. In 1389 there were jousts at Saint-Denis after the coronation of his queen, Isabella, in order to 'ensure powerful friendships and gain the favour of strangers'. Charles himself was one of the thirty knights who challenged an equal number of defenders, the latter wearing the royal device of the blazing sun. Three days of jousting followed, hampered by clouds of dust in the lists. On the last day, after the main jousts had ended, knights appeared in the hall which had been specially built for the occasion and tilted for two hours indoors. The splendour of the occasion was as important as the action in the lists: according to the accounts of the duke of Burgundy, the gold which was taken off the duke's doublets after the festival fetched over 1,000 francs, and more than 500 ostrich feathers were used. An immensely detailed list of embroidered clothing made for the duke's sons for the queen's entry also survives, including the twenty-six sets of jousting armour decorated with the sun which they and their twenty-four companions wore.[39]

[37] 'Die Königssaaler Geschichtsquellen', ed. J. Loserth, in *Fontes rerum Austriacarum, Scriptores* (Vienna, 1875), pp. 404–5.

[38] Sir Thomas Gray, *Scalacronica 1272–1363*, ed. and trans. A. King (Woodbridge, 2005), p. 106.

[39] *Inventaires mobiliers et extraits des comptes des ducs de Bourgogne*, ed. B. Prost (Paris, 1902–08), II, pp. 509, 515, 527, 558.

In fifteenth-century Castile, King Juan II was famous only for his love of amusements: his 'natural condition was to hold jousts and to do things which he enjoyed', delegating his political role to his constable, Alvaro de Luna. There were jousts after his coronation at Saragossa in 1414, which culminated in 'a tournament of a hundred versus a hundred, white against colours'. He himself first jousted in 1423, at the age of eighteen. The remainder of his long reign, which ended in 1454, was the great age of Spanish tournaments. Juan was a skilled jouster, and at one of his first appearances, he impressed onlookers by his accurate aim and firm seat, scoring several hits on his opponents' shields.[40]

The most spectacular festival of the period was the *Passaje peligroso de la Fuerte Ventura* (The Perilous Passage of Great Adventure) held at Valladolid in 1428, with a very complicated setting and scenario.[41] In the main square a fortress was built, with a high central tower and four surrounding towers. At its foot were a belfry and a pillar painted to look like stone, on which a gilded gryphon stood, holding a great standard. A high fence with four towers surrounded it, and an outer fence with twelve towers completed the fortifications. In each of these towers stood a lady dressed in finery. Inside the fortress were rooms for the prince and mangers for the horses. Across the square there were two more towers and an arch inscribed 'This is the arch of the perilous passage of great adventure'. On one of the towers was fixed a great golden wheel, called the 'wheel of fortune'. The king, on a horse caparisoned in silver and gold, opened the jousting and broke two spears; he was followed by the king of Navarre, with twelve knights 'all like windmills'.

In the following weeks, there were jousts in war armour by torchlight and a festival in honour of the marriage of Juan's daughter, at which the scenario was quite extraordinary, and probably blasphemous. A tent was pitched at the top of a flight of steps covered in cloth of gold, and the king appeared in the lists dressed as God the Father, each of his accompanying knights dressed as an apostle with a scroll bearing his name and carrying one of the instruments of the Passion. Six of the prince's men appeared in surcoats decorated with smoke and flame, and six with mulberry leaves on theirs. The jousting 'lasted until there were stars in the sky'.[42]

[40] Pedro Carrillo de Huete, *Crónica del halconero de Juan II* (Madrid, 1940), p. 10.
[41] *Ibid.*, p. 24–6.
[42] *Ibid.*, 24–6; Gutierre Diez de Gamez, *El Vitorial: Crónica de Don Pero Niño*, ed. J. de Mata Carriazo (Madrid, 1940), p. 338–9.

René d'Anjou and the *Livre des tournois*

It was among the cadet branches of the French royal house that the tournament reached its apogee in the fifteenth century. The courts of Philip the Good and Charles the Bold in Burgundy and of René, duke of Anjou and titular king of Sicily, saw the most famous chivalric events of the period. They were not perhaps as original and exceptional as has been made out. The Spanish jousts at Valladolid, which preceded them, were at least as spectacular, and certainly more eccentric in their scenarios.

In Burgundy, the tournament proper was almost always a subordinate part of a great royal festival, such as a wedding, rather than an event in its own right. When René of Anjou came to write his *Livre de tournois*, justly famous as the definitive account of the late medieval tournament, he tells us at the beginning of his treatise that he has based his work mostly on German customs, using elements of Flemish and French customs, and the proceedings he describes centre on a general tournament or *mêlée*.[43] The implication is that jousting, much more common at this period, belongs properly to the *pas d'armes*.

Here the tournament has become a ritual, worked out in minute detail, to be observed with the respect due to the ultimate chivalric festival. The text and illustrations in all the surviving copies of the manuscript work as a kind of visual handbook, and it is clear that proper procedure is of paramount importance. The forms and ceremonies attendant on each stage of the event, from the issue of the challenge to the etiquette of the final prize-giving, are carefully depicted: it seems that René worked closely with the artist Barthélemy van Eyck, who had a studio next to the king's chamber.[44]

And the encounter at the climax of René's book is of a very specific type, sometimes called a *behourd*. In the first picture of the *mêlée* the knights enter the lists holding clubs, with which they demolish the elaborate crests on their opponents' helms. The fighting continues in the second picture, but now the combatants have drawn their swords, which have blunt points and presumably blunt blades as well. We have come a long way from the all too real weapons of the original tournaments; and the actual encounter in the lists forms only a small part of the whole proceedings.

As an example of the tournament in a festival context, the event mounted by René himself at Nancy for the marriage by proxy of Margaret of Anjou to Henry VI is a suitably grand example. This was about magnificence, with jousting added in as an entertainment. A tent of red, white and green silk stood at one end of the lists, at the other a massive green pillar, to which were affixed the articles of the jousts. René d'Anjou made his entry, followed by six horses, each with different

[43] See J. Sturgeon, *René d'Anjou's* Livre de Tournois (Woodbridge, forthcoming).
[44] *Ibid.*

coloured trappings embroidered with different devices. René's own mount was in purple velvet and gold, and the others were in crimson, black, blue, yellow, and white cloth of gold. But this magnificence was rivalled by the count of Saint-Pol, messire de Brézé, the lord of Lorraine, and the other defenders; and even when it came to the actual jousts, the contestants appeared in equally rich attire. Charles VII himself opened the jousting, even though he had the reputation of disliking such exercises. The king was followed as challenger by the count of Foix, Gaston IV, whose biographer has left us a vivid eye-witness account of the event. Gaston IV almost unseated the count of Saint-Pol in the first encounter, and at his third course, against the lord of Lorraine, he shattered his spear with such force that the pieces flew high in the air, to the wild cheers of the crowd. In all, Gaston ran twelve courses, breaking eleven 'good stout lances', unhorsing one opponent and almost unseating another. He duly won the challengers' prize.[45]

The *Pas d'Armes*

The *pas d'armes* was a jousting challenge which any knight could organise. The usual formula was that the knight would take a vow to defend a certain place against all comers for a specified time. Jean le Meingre, sire de Boucicaut, was one of the first knights to hold a *pas d'armes*. In 1390, he and two other knights proclaimed (with Charles VI's approval) a jousting festival for sixty days on the marches of Calais, at Saint-Inglevert.[46] These were the most famous French jousts of the fourteenth century. In the letter outlining the details of the jousts, the defenders offered to hold the lists for thirty days from 20 March next, and to 'deliver to all knights, squires and gentlemen, from whatever countries they may come, with five courses with a sharp or blunt lance … or with both lances'.[47] The challengers were to touch a shield of war or of peace belonging to one of the defenders on the previous day, to give notice of their intention to fight, and to indicate which lance was to be used. The letters aroused particular enthusiasm in England, as a year's truce with France was in force. About a hundred English knights and squires crossed the Channel to take up the challenge, and many more came to watch; about forty knights came from other countries. In the event, the total number of jousters was only thirty-nine. There were no serious

[45] The jousts at Nancy are described in G. Leseur, *Histoire de Gaston IV, comte de Foix,* ed. H. Courteault, (Paris, 1893), I, pp. 144–70.

[46] See *The Chivalric Biography of Boucicaut, Jean II Le Meingre*, trans. C. Taylor and J. H. M. Taylor (Woodbridge, 2016), pp. 48–52. The description in Jean Froissart, *Oeuvres*, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove (Brussels, 1866–), XIV, pp. 105–51, is fuller and may have been written nearer to the event.

[47] *Chivalric Biography of Boucicaut*, p. 56.

injuries, even though most of the English knights chose to joust *à outrance*, 'with sharp lances', and the jousting was generally reckoned to have been of a high standard. Charles VI granted 6,000 francs to the three defenders in a writ dated 13 May and is said to have attended the jousts incognito as a spectator. At the end of the thirty days the three challengers returned to France covered with glory.[48]

If the skilled jouster imagined himself as a Lancelot or a Tristan, winning his lady's heart by his exploits in the lists, he also imitated the heroes of romance by the use of extravagant vows. Ulrich von Lichtenstein vowed to make his two journeys in honour of ladies, and many of the Burgundian *pas d'armes* were centred on vows. When in 1434 Suero de Quiñones held the *Passo Honroso*, he sought release from his self-imposed vow to wear an iron collar as a symbol of his love-enslavement. Vows were, after all, a commonplace of medieval life: in the religious world, vows to go on pilgrimage or on crusade were usual, and as elsewhere, the chivalric world mirrored that of religion in its outward forms.

The *Passo Honroso* (Passage of Honour) was held at the bridge at Orbigo in Castile, where a great encampment housed the knights, judges, heralds, musicians, scriveners, armourers, surgeons, physicians, lance-makers and others. It was to last for thirty days or until 300 lances were broken. Knights came from far afield, but Spain was a long journey from the heartland of jousting in Burgundy and its neighbouring countries. Knights from Aragon and Germany opened the proceedings, and in the first days there were frequent encounters, though relatively few lances were broken. By the end of the second week the score was only ninety, and although there were between thirty and sixty courses each day in the third week, the target of 300 hundred lances was obviously not going to be reached. The final figure was 180, or an average of three a day. It was an over-ambitious scheme, and most *pas d'armes* were on a more limited timescale.[49]

The *pas d'armes* was very popular in the mid-fifteenth century and had a keen following; in Burgundy and France alone we have detailed accounts of seven such events. But they were hardly the liveliest of sports, and the descriptions, like Malory's lengthy recital of the tournament at Surluse, are hard work for a modern reader.[50] There were clearly stars of the jousting circuit, such as Ferry de Lorraine, who is named as the victor at two *pas d'armes*, but much of the appeal for the spectators was in the sheer pageantry on display, as at the tournament. And it is as a pageant that the tournament lingered on through the sixteenth century, until in the seventeenth century we come full circle, with displays of horsemanship before the king of France labelled as tournaments.

[48] *Ibid.*, p. 151.

[49] See edition and translation of the majority of the text in: N. Fallows, *Jousting in Medieval and Renaissance Iberia* (Woodbridge, 2010), pp. 400–501.

[50] Sir Thomas Malory, *Le Morte Darthur*, ed. P. J. C. Field (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 515–31.

The tournament lies at the heart of chivalry. It is here that the first intertwining of literary imagination and the reality of knightly life takes place, at a very specific time and place. Without the interplay between the romances of Chrétien de Troyes and the gatherings of knights for tournaments in north-east France in the last quarter of the twelfth century, it is hard to imagine how courtly literature and its ethos would have developed. And the tournament remains the litmus test of the influence of chivalric culture, underlying the great Burgundian festivals of the fifteenth century and declining only when chivalric ideals fall away in the sixteenth century. The concepts of fair play which develop on the tourneying field influence attitudes to warfare, even though they remain the exclusive privilege of the knightly class. The image of the knight as hero, and the emphasis on individual prowess, another essential aspect of chivalry, are also closely related to the world of jousting and the search for fame which drives knightly ambition.

8

Heraldry and Heralds

ROBERT W. JONES

The image of medieval chivalry is a grey one without the inclusion of heraldry. Indeed, the two cultural forms develop hand-in-hand, and the increasing complexity of this sign-system of individualised and hereditary iconography, borne on shield, standard and surcoat (and often, it can appear, anything else which presented a surface), can be seen to reflect the increasing formality and complexity of the chivalric order itself.

Like so much of chivalry, the origins of heraldry are far from clear, but, like chivalry, it is generally perceived as emerging in a recognisable form out of the Low Countries in the middle part of the twelfth century.[1] It did not develop in isolation: individualised emblems on banners and shields had existed as part of a wider system of martial display, serving to mark out commanders on the battlefield.[2] A number of Scandinavian royal households are recorded as bearing a banner with a raven on it. In many cases the banner is given an individual name, such as *ravenlandeye*, 'raven, terror of the land', supposedly the banner of Sigurd, *jarl* of Northumbria, or *Landøyðan* or 'Land-waster' of Harald Hardrada, which would suggest that they were individual banners.[3] According to William of Poitiers, Harold Godwinson fought beneath the banner of 'the fighting man' as well as the dragon of Wessex at Hastings, whilst William, we are told, had his own distinctive banner, as well as that gifted him by the pope and presumably

[1] A. Ailes, 'The Knight, Heraldry and Armour: The Role of Recognition and the Origins of Heraldry', in *Medieval Knighthood IV: Papers from the fifth Strawberry Hill Conference*, ed. C. Harper-Bill and R. Harvey (Woodbridge, 1992), pp. 1–21.

[2] R. W. Jones, 'Identifying the Warrior on the Pre-heraldic Battlefield', *Anglo-Norman Studies XXX* (2007), pp. 154–67.

[3] Much of what follows draws on David Crouch's comprehensive chapter on 'Insignia Defining Aristocracy' in *The Image of Aristocracy in Britain, 1000–1300* (London, 1992), pp. 220–51. N. Lukman, 'The Raven Banner and the Changing Ravens: A Viking Miracle from Carolingian Court Poetry to Saga and Arthurian Romance', *Classica et Medievalia* 19 (1958), p. 148.

recognisable as such: a token of papal support against a perjurer and usurper.[4] Fulk of Chartres, writing about the First Crusade, tells us that the three leaders of the crusading army – Robert Curthose, Baldwin of Boulogne and Bohemond of Taranto – had red, white and gold banners respectively.[5]

Whilst Adrian Ailes is almost certainly underestimating the significance of such emblems by describing their function as simply aesthetic or bellicose, it is true that they are not heraldic in any real sense.[6] Nor, however, are those designs of the first two decades of the twelfth century, perceived as 'proto-heraldic' by Ailes and others. The only distinction between them and the images that went before is that they 'have a new orderliness about them, looking very much, like true heraldry', but, as Ailes himself notes, 'in the vast majority of cases there is no evidence that they held any special significance or were hereditary'.[7] In the cases of the Harding or Winchester Bibles, two key examples cited by Ailes, the situation is further complicated by the fact that the events being depicted are not contemporary, but biblical. As such it is impossible to say whether they reflect contemporary use on the battlefield, or are purely an artistic style.

And yet, as Crouch notes, there is evidence that some of these designs became fixed amongst the great and powerful houses of the kingdom of France. The blue and gold checks of the Vermandois, the gold lions of the house of Anjou, the wheatsheaves of the Candavène family of St Pol – in all cases we see the same devices being used by subsequent generations and across different branches of the family in a clearly conscious 'branding'.[8] Note, however, the reference to families. In this early period it is still the great households, those who led men into battle, that had their own emblems. The men who fought under them, even though they were knights, bore the arms of their lords. The most oft-quoted example of this comes from the *Histoire de Guillaume Maréchal*. In his first tournament, around 1167, the young William is noted for his prowess and named by one of the spectators, along with the observation 'he bears the shield of Tancarville'; he was carrying the arms of his lord and kinsman William de Tancarville, not an emblem of his own.[9]

It is during the course of the thirteenth century that we see the diffusion of heraldic use amongst the lesser houses, with these men adopting their own arms,

[4] *The Gesta Guillelmi of William of Poitiers*, ed. and trans. R. H. C. Davis and M. Chibnall (Oxford, 1998), pp. 152–3.

[5] Fulcher of Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem, 1095–1127*, trans. F. Ryan, ed. H. S. Fink (Knoxville, TN, 1969), p. 99.

[6] A. Ailes, 'Heraldry in Twelfth-Century England: The Evidence', in *England in the Twelfth Century*, ed. D. Williams (Woodbridge, 1990), pp. 1–16 and plates.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 2.

[8] Crouch, *Image of Aristocracy*, pp. 223–6.

[9] 'Sis escuz est de Tankarvile.' *History of William Marshal*, ed. A. J. Holden, trans. S. Gregory, 3 vols (London, 2002–06), I, pp. 76–7, line 1478. Crouch, *Image of Aristocracy*, p. 230.

but consciously drawing on those of the great households with whom they had a connection, whether by blood or fealty.[10] These cadet branches might retain the same design but alter the colours, or retain the colours but change the design, or add extra elements to differentiate themselves. Thus the red chevrons on a gold shield of the Clare family were adopted and adapted by a number of cadet families.[11] Whilst the two main lines, the earls of Hertford and the earls of Pembroke, bore *or, three chevrons gules*, the families of Montfitchet and Monmouth, both descended from female lines, bore *gules, three chevrons or and a label azure* (a simple inversion of the colours of the shield) and *or, three chevronels gules a fess azure* (retaining the colours but making the chevrons noticeably thinner and adding a stripe across the shield). The dispersal was not just familial, but also feudal. The Sackvilles, tenants of the Clares, kept the chevrons but placed them on a field of ermine. The Criols, tenants of the Clares in the county of Kent, bore *or, two chevrons and a canton gules*. The Criols' own tenants then derived their arms from those of their direct lords, by adding charges onto the canton.[12] Thus heraldry continued its dispersal through the ranks of the knightly class, so that by the middle of the thirteenth century the assumption of a coat of arms was considered an integral trapping of the rank of knighthood.[13]

The aspect of the early development of heraldry that has, perhaps, received the least attention is how quickly the composition of the designs and the establishment of the language of heraldry – blazon – was formalised. Ailes notes that by the end of the twelfth century the visual sources are beginning to show warriors bearing shields with geometric designs 'following heraldic rules', whilst birds and beasts are being shown in the poses that will become the norm until the present day.[14] Alongside this apparent standardisation of the visual components, there is evidence for the beginnings of a technical language of heraldry. In his work Gerard Brault notes that the language used in the description of proto-heraldic and heraldic devices becomes fixed at an early stage, being found in Old French epic and romance.[15] More than just the ordinary vernacular, he argues that there are very specific terms being used in the description of the designs on shields. They are not neologisms, however, but instead come from the lexicon of the artist, tailor and architect.[16] This should come as no surprise; after all, these were the men who were responsible for the adorning of banners,

[10] Crouch, *Image of Aristocracy*, pp. 230–5. P. Coss, *The Knight in Medieval England 1000–1400* (Stroud, 1993), pp. 79–81 and plates.
[11] Coss, *The Knight*, pp. 79–80.
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 80 and plates 11 and 12.
[13] Crouch, *Image of Aristocracy*, pp. 235–6.
[14] Ailes, 'Heraldry in Twelfth-Century England', pp. 10–11.
[15] G. J. Brault, *Early Blazon: Heraldic Terminology in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries with Special Reference to Arthurian Heraldry* (Woodbridge, 1972), pp. 5–8.
[16] *Ibid.*, p. 8.

shields, surcoats and castles, not the knight himself, nor indeed the herald, who at this date was still little more than a glorified cheerleader.[17] Brault also suggests that the language might owe something to the mnemonic devices used by the jongleurs and troubadours who recited the tales of romance and epic heroes, in particular the use of formulaic structures and stereotyped phrasing.[18] Such 'tricks' of the storytellers would also prove useful for those heraldic cheerleaders in their recitation of the deeds of their patrons.

By the middle of the thirteenth century almost all of the facets of heraldry were in place. It was now an exclusive system, with a more or less clear distinction between the armigerous and the non-armigerous.[19] It had a set of rules governing the design of the shields and a technical language to underpin them. Specialists in the recording and remembering of arms – the heralds – were being retained for their expertise, and written and illustrated lists of the arms being borne – so called 'rolls of arms' – were being maintained.[20] Heraldry had also spread throughout Europe in a remarkably homogenous way.

But why did it take the form it did? What was heraldry's function? The commonly held belief that heraldry developed in order to distinguish friend from foe on the battlefield, when developments in armour were rendering the knights indistinguishable from each other, does not stand up to scrutiny. There is evidence from the pre- and proto-heraldic periods that the wargear of the warrior could be decorated and adorned in such a way as to make him recognisable.[21] Epic and romance literature talks of knights exchanging their weapons, armour and mounts in order to pass for the enemy. Meeting with scouts of his enemy William of Normandy near Domfront in 1049, Geoffrey Martel, count of Anjou, claimed that he would 'rouse William at Domfront with his trumpet call at first light of dawn on the morrow. He announced in advance what horse he would ride in the battle and described his shield and clothing.' William's scouts described the horse, clothing and arms of their lord in return.[22]

[17] D. Crouch, *Tournament* (London, 2005), p. 63.

[18] Brault, *Early Blazon*, p. 8.

[19] As Peter Coss notes in his chapter above, there was an early pressure from the non-knightly community of squires and sergeants to assume the trappings of their betters, including heraldry.

[20] Heralds: Crouch, *Tournament*, pp. 63–5 and 89–90. Glover's Roll, British Library Additional MS 29796, dating to the 1240s or 1250s, contains fifty-five coat of arms whilst the Heralds' Roll of around 1280 (known in a fifteenth-century copy, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, MS 297), contains 697.

[21] Jones, 'Identifying the Warrior', p. 154–67; Crouch, *Image of Aristocracy*, pp. 229–30.

[22] *Gesta Guillelmi of William of Poitiers*, pp. 26–7. That Geoffrey felt he had to describe his shield may also suggest that their decoration was not yet fixed, a reinforcement of their non-heraldic nature.

With the widespread assumption of arms, one has to question how far the individual warrior would have been able to remember and differentiate between them. Their increasing complexity and the practice of impaling and quartering arms – joining another's arms into your own in order to record dynastic connections – not to mention that people were still changing their coats of arms (and would continue to do so throughout the middle ages), would have made this extremely difficult, especially in the stressful environment of battle. Surely a simpler sign system of 'field signs' – a badge common to all the protagonists on one side of an engagement – would have been a more logical situation.[23] Heraldry was an effective identifier only when the viewer had the leisure to decode it. For this reason, Crouch is almost certainly right to argue that the prime driver for heraldry's development was to enable the great lord and his retinue to be identified on the tournament field.[24]

Since the tournament was a stage on which the performance of deeds of martial prowess, as well as displays of largesse in the post-combat ceremonies, receptions and banquets, increased one's social standing (or, as in the case of William Marshal, could make one's career), it was inevitable that heraldry would come to signify more than simply the warrior's presence on the tournament field, in order that their performance could be witnessed by their peers and by the spectators on the stands. There is recognition of this role in the way in which William Marshal's prowess is marked by two older knights on the sidelines, as noted above. It is also to be seen in Chrétien's romance of *Le Chevalier au Charette* ('The Knight in the Cart') where we are told that at tournament the ladies, damsels and knights discussed the heraldry of those knights that they most esteemed.[25] When Johannes de Bado Aureo wrote his highly influential treatise on heraldry, the fourteenth-century jurist created a venerable origin for the bearing of arms, stating that 'the Trojans of royal blood adopted distinctive colours so that they might be recognized from the walls, and their deeds and prowess in combat noticed'.[26] The similarities with depictions of tournaments, whether Chrétien's descriptions or visual images such as those in the Manesse Codex, where ladies look down from garlanded castles on the fighting knights

[23] There may be some evidence for the use of such signs appearing in our source material under the term *cognizances* or *connaissances*; R. W. Jones, *Bloodied Banners: Martial Display on the Medieval Battlefield* (Woodbridge, 2010), pp. 59–62.

[24] Crouch, *Tournament*, p. 8.

[25] 'Et les dames et les puceles, Si ot chevaliers avoec eles, Assez, qui armes ne porterent, Qui prison ou croisié se erent, Et cil lor armes lor devisent Des chevaliers que il plus prisent'. Chrétien de Troyes, *Chevalier de la Charrette ou Lancelot*, ed. P. Kunstmann (Ottawa/Nancy, 2009), pp. 119–20: http://catalog.bfm-corpus.org/charrette (accessed 6/7/17).

[26] 'ac yna I kymyrth gwyr y dinas o'r gwaet brenhinol amravaelion liwie amdanunt, megys y gellid oddiar y kaere I hadnabot hwynt a gweled eu dignoniant a'u gwrhydri yn y rryvel.' E. J. Jones, *Medieval Heraldry: Some Fourteenth-Century Works* (Cardiff, 1943), pp. 6–9.

below, their heraldry clearly displayed, is impossible to ignore. Johannes must have had the tournament in mind when writing this.

The diffusion of heraldry amongst those whom Coss terms 'household knights' was not a wholly aspirational assumption of the trappings of the great lords, although this was undoubtedly part of it. It also reflected a need amongst these warriors for individual recognition of their prowess. This desire was driven by chivalric culture's increasing focus on the individual warrior's prowess. The new fashionable romance tales shifted away from matters of service and vassalage, subjects which lay at the heart of the older epic, instead focusing on the questing knight, riding out alone and fighting individual combats against opponents in stylised encounters very reminiscent of the joust.[27] The joust itself was an increasingly popular form of combat. It went from being one of the elements of the *commençailles* – the engagements that occurred on the day before the main event of the tournament proper – to becoming the focus of the combatants' and spectators' interest.[28] Crouch suggests that this form of combat had its roots in the challenges between champions in opposing armies on the battlefield, and that its new-found popularity seems to have come about because of the influence of the romance literature, with the establishment of 'round tables', pageants scripted around the Arthurian tales, with leading characters being portrayed by the participants. Like the romances, the combats were almost invariably individual encounters at lance point.[29] Acting on a stage that made him the focus of attention, the knight inevitably adopted a method that allowed for his identification.

Heraldry was never a purely practical and martial system, however. Much of the earliest evidence for its adoption and development comes not from descriptions of knights and nobles in battle, but from the increased use of seals by the great lords. Whilst seals were in continuous use from the classical era, during the twelfth century a major cultural shift has been recognised in literacy and the use of the written word.[30] The business of royal and regional government was now done through writs, and land transactions were no longer memorialised by the transfer of objects but through the presentation of charters. A key element of this was the need to authenticate, through witness lists and through seals. As more men (and women) conducted their business on parchment, and acted as witnesses to such business, they required their own seal, which they would, inevitably, choose to adorn with their own heraldic design.[31]

[27] Chrétien de Troyes' tale of *Cligés* is an exception to this rule and owes much more to the epic tradition.
[28] Crouch, *Tournament*, pp. 68–9, 90.
[29] *Ibid.*, pp. 116–21.
[30] The classic work on this is Michael Clanchy's *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066–1307*, third edition (Chichester, 2013).
[31] Ailes, 'Heraldry in Twelfth-Century England', pp. 4–10.

This transactional function of heraldry also goes a long way to explaining why we find women taking on a form of display otherwise connected with martial service. The adoption of arms by women does not lag very far behind the arrival of heraldry proper.[32] Although for quite some time their arms continue to be depicted on shields (even if those shields hang beside rather than being held by their owner), eventually the heraldry of women becomes divorced from its martial origins; the shield was replaced by the lozenge as the field on which their arms were routinely displayed.

A key example of the early use of heraldry by women is the seal of Margaret de Quincy, countess of Winchester.[33] It is an excellent example of the way in which heraldry was being used in a non-military context to show the horizontal and vertical ties between the noble houses. Margaret is wearing a gown decorated with her husband Saher's arms (*mascules* – lozenges with hollow centres). The same arms are on a shield hanging by her side. Below that shield is one depicting the chevrons of Robert Fitzwalter, Saher de Quincy's cousin and close associate.[34] On the gateway over her head is a *cinquefoil*, an allusion to the arms of the earl of Leicester, whose daughter she was.

There is a similar use of heraldry amongst the female line on the famous image of Sir Geoffrey Luttrell in his fourteenth-century psalter.[35] In the image Geoffrey's wife hands him his helm. She is dressed in a gown decorated with the arms of her husband impaled with the arms of her own father, Sir Richard de Sutton. Beside her stands their daughter-in-law, also in a gown decorated with her father-in-law's arms and those of her father, Geoffrey le Scrope, the patriarch of the powerful Scropes of Masham. Whilst noblewomen did not have arms of their own, nor bore the marks of cadence – the additional devices placed on arms to denote sons – they served to transfer arms between families in the same way as they transferred lands and titles through marriage. With no martial need for it, the female use of heraldry was a reflection of the male.

The use of heraldry by women, in their own right and marking their position within the family, reminds us that the chivalric community was wider than just the knight. The same is true of the use of heraldry by the ecclesiastical

[32] B. M. Bedos-Rezak, 'Heraldry', in *Women and Gender in Medieval Europe: An Encyclopedia*, ed. M. Schaus (London, 2006), pp. 360–1. See also Louise Wilkinson's chapter below, pp. 228-33.

[33] Crouch, *Image of Aristocracy*, p. 239.

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 239. Crouch is wrong to assert that these are an earlier shield of Saher de Quincy. Robert Fitzwalter's own seal depicts him as a mounted knight bedecked in the chevrons and bar devices, with a shield bearing de Quincy's *mascules* floating before him (https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/seal-matrix-of-robert-fitz-walter, accessed 9/5/17).

[35] British Library Additional MS 42130, 202v. See the frontispiece of this volume.

community, with members of armigerous families who joined the priesthood choosing to continue to display their status as part of the chivalric community, although rarely as blatantly as Thomas Hatfield, bishop of Durham between 1345 and 1381, who depicts himself (reflecting the iconography of the royal Great Seal) enthroned as a bishop on the obverse and then as a fully armed and mounted knight, his arms displayed on surcoat and caparison, on the reverse.[36]

1 Seal of Thomas Hatfield, bishop of Durham, 1345–81

Heraldry became an integral element within art from an early stage. Not only do we see the widespread 'branding' of personal items with heraldry, from barbicans to bedspreads, chantry chapels to chalices – if you like, developing on the original function of heraldry as a statement of personal presence – but we also see the depiction of historical, mythical and biblical figures being given coats of arms too.[37] There was a sophisticated and nuanced integration of heraldry into the artistic milieu. As well as the lists of arms in his 'Book of Additions', Matthew Paris's use of arms in the margins of his chronicles, for example where the death of an individual is marked by the depiction of their arms upside down, is widely recognised, but this to some extent hides the sophistication of his use of arms.[38]

[36] http://valentine.dur.ac.uk/seals/popes_bishops.htm (accessed 11/5/2017).

[37] Brault, *Early Blazon*, indicates how quickly the Arthurian heroes were bedecked in heraldic devices.

[38] *Rolls of Arms Henry III: The Matthew Paris Shields (c.1244–59); Glover's Roll (c.1253–8) and Walford's Roll (c.1273); Additions and Corrections to a Catalogue of English Mediaeval Rolls of Arms*, ed. T. D. Tremlett and H. S. London (Woodbridge, 1958).

2 Simon de Montfort amongst the army of the Antichrist

More striking are the examples of arms being used for political comment, such as the depiction of Simon de Montfort amongst the army of the Beast in both the Trinity and Douce Apocalypses, texts which were produced for Henry III or Eleanor at the time of Montfort's rebellion against Henry III.[39] It is unlikely that either patron specified that Montfort should be included amongst Satan's hellish *mesnie*, even if that is how they saw him; the commentary must have come from the illustrator, and we are reminded again of the importance of those outside the chivalric elite in the way heraldry developed.

This use of heraldry for propaganda purposes reinforces how, within a short space of time, the symbols had become synonymous with the individual. To dishonour those arms was to dishonour the man. Geoffrey de Villehardouin records how the comte de St Pol hanged one of his knights for holding back the spoils of war 'with his shield at his neck'.[40] In the 1360s Henry Pomfret displayed the arms of Jean de Melun, count of Tancarville, 'reversed', or turned upside down, marking his claim that the latter had defaulted on his ransom and was

[39] Trinity College, Cambridge, MS R 16.2, fol. 23r, and Oxford Bodleian Library MS Douce 180, fol. 31. In the latter example Gilbert de Clare's arms appear alongside the imaginary arms of Satan in another diabolical host (fol. 87). See also A. Ailes, 'Heraldry in Medieval England: Symbols of Politics and Propaganda', in *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England*, ed. P. Coss and M. Keen (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 84–5.

[40] 'Li cuens de Sain Pol en pendi un suen chevalier, l'escu al col, qui en avoit retenu.' Geoffrey de Villehardouin, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. and trans. E. Faral (Paris, 1973), II, p. 60.

therefore in breach of his parole.[41] The French captain La Hire took the field wearing the reversed arms of Robert de Commercy, who was in pledge for the defaulter Monsard d'Aisne, hanging at his horse's tail, where, undoubtedly, they were further dishonoured.[42] From the reign of Edward II we see the use of arms dishonoured as an integral part of punishments for treason, with the arms of the traitors being abased, defaced or prominently displayed on their bodies at the time punishment was carried out.[43]

The connection between arms and honour was a very direct one. The slight was difficult to ignore. The Breton constable of France on being slandered by the captain of the garrison at Moncontour (who displayed the constable's arms reversed) summarily executed the man, hanging him from the castle's battlements in full armour.[44] Sir John Chandos may have been more subtle in dealing with his dispute over honour and arms. Shortly before the battle of Poitiers the English knight was riding out to view the enemy's battle lines. A French knight, Jean de Clermont, was doing the same and the men met. Both were wearing the same *devise*, 'une Dame Bleu ouvrée d'une bordure, au ray du soleil'.[45] There followed an example of chivalric social awkwardness as Clermont accused Chandos of stealing his *devise*, with the added insult that this was typical of the English, who could invent nothing new for themselves but took whatever they 'see handsome belonging to others'. Chandos responded by saying he had more right to the symbol than Clermont and that he would prove it the following day in the battle.[46] Clermont was killed in the battle, and Froissart remarks that 'some say this treatment was owing to his altercation on the preceding day with Sir John Chandos'.[47]

Most disputes over arms were settled in a more legalistic fashion. The cases of Scrope versus Grosvenor and Lovell versus Morley, both stemming from their service in the 1385 campaign, and Grey versus Hastings, which commenced in

[41] M. Keen, *Origins of the English Gentleman: Heraldry, Chivalry and Gentility in Medieval England, c. 1300–1500* (Stroud, 2002), p. 32.

[42] Keen, *Chivalry*, p. 175.

[43] M. Strickland, '"All brought to nought and thy state undone": Treason, Disinvestiture and the Disgracing of Arms under Edward II', in *Soldiers, Noble and Gentlemen: Essays in Honour of Maurice Keen*, ed. P. Coss and C. Tyerman (Woodbridge, 2009), pp. 279–304.

[44] Keen, *Chivalry*, p. 175.

[45] 'Et portoit Chacuns une meysme devise sus son senestre bras dessus sees parures: c'estoit ouvré de bordure une bleue dame en un ray d'un soleil bien perlée et bien arée.' Jean Froissart, *Oeuvres de Froissart publiées avec les variants des divers manuscrits par M. le Baron Krevyn de Lettenhove* (Osnabruck, 1967), V, p. 417.

[46] *Ibid.*, V, pp. 418–19.

[47] Jean Froissart, *Chronicle of England, France, Spain and the Adjoining Countries, from the Latter Part of the Reign of Edward II to the Coronation of Henry IV*, trans. T. Johnes (New York, 1857), p. 103.

1401, all came under the jurisdiction of the Court of Chivalry and the marshal.[48] At the core of the disputes, and what determined both the choice of witnesses called and the content of their evidence, was the martial career of the individuals and their ancestors. Whilst there was some testimony to the arms being seen in churches, the deponents' primary concern was to recall their combat experience, their service on campaign, and the times they had seen the arms appear in these contexts. The court in the Hastings case did go to see the brass of Sir Hugh Hastings, the defendant's great-grandfather, but the subtext to this must have been the martial reputation of this man, one of Edward III's commanders, and of the mourners depicted around him – Edward III himself, Thomas Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, Hugh Le Despenser, John Grey of Ruthin, Henry, duke of Lancaster, Lawrence, lord Hastings, Ralph, lord Strafford and Almeric, lord St Amand.[49] Even in the courtroom heraldry was still of the battlefield.

The argument between Chandos and Clermont is interesting not just for its suggestion of a vendetta played out on the battlefield, but also because the dispute was not over the right to heraldic arms, but to a *devise* or badge. Neither man had a 'lady in blue' as their arms; Chandos bore *or a pile gules* whilst Clermont bore *gules, semé de trefoils or, two barbels addorsed* (two fish with their backs to each other) *of the second, a label of three points argent.* In the later version of his *Chronicles,* Froissart suggests that the dispute arose because the men were young and in love, which would suggest that the *dame bleue* somehow represented a lady in whom they shared an interest.[50] However, it is much more likely that the figure they bore on their sleeve was a representation of the Virgin Mary, although quite why this should have caused such a dispute is not so easy to discern as there must have been myriad images of the Madonna being worn in a range of contexts.

[48] For Scrope versus Grosvenor see Sir N. Harris Nicolas, *De controversia in curia militari inter Ricardum Le Scrope et Robertum Grosvenor milites: rege Ricardo Secundo, MCCCLXXXV–MCCCXC e recordis in turre Londinensi asservatis,* 2 vols (London,1832). For Lovell versus Morley see A. Ayton, 'Knights, Esquires and Military Service: The Evidence of the Armorial Cases before the Court of Chivalry', in *The Medieval Military Revolution: State, Society and Military Change in Medieval and Early Modern Europe,* ed. A. Ayton and J. L. Price (New York, 1995), pp. 81–104. For Grey versus Hastings see M. Keen, 'English Military Experience and the Court of Chivalry: The Case of Grey v. Hastings', in *Guerre et société en France, en Angleterre et en Bourgogne, XIVe–XVe siècle,* ed. P. Contamine, C. Giry-Deloison and M. Keen (Lille, 1992), pp. 123–42.

[49] For further discussion of this remarkable monument see J. Luxford, 'The Hastings Brass at Elsing: A Contextual Analysis', *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society* 18 (2011), pp. 193–211.

[50] Susan Crane, *The Performance of Self: Ritual, Clothing, and Identity during the Hundred Years War* (Philadelphia, PA, 2012), p. 18.

We have already suggested that the origins of heraldry lay in the wearing of *cognizances*, field signs to distinguish one force from another.[51] By the fourteenth century such badges were *en vogue* once more. Again, it is not entirely clear when the practice was re-adopted, or indeed if it ever ceased, although the latter is likely. Many historians, as well as contemporary commentators, trace the first use of the badge in a military context to Edward III's 1327 Scottish campaign. However, Crouch argues for an earlier origin, suggesting their development in the thirteenth century was an adjunct to the heraldic symbols of the great lords, enabling them to distinguish themselves from the lesser nobility and stamping their identity and ownership on both property and men.[52]

The fourteenth-century fashion for them stems from the practice of a lord supplying livery to his household. The giving of 'liveries of robes' by a lord to his servants and adherents served as a complex visual statement of position and status within the household. As well as acting as a uniform, identifying the household member as an adherent of their lord, the livery provided a complex visual statement about the relative status of each individual within the whole. Different groups might wear different colours, whilst status within these groups was shown through more generously cut clothing and more expensive furs.[53] The granting of a badge served to mark the recipient as an adherent of the giver, labelling the wearer as being in a reciprocal arrangement of service and support, but it was also a symbol of the wearer's social connection with the great lord. The fancier the badge, the closer and more prestigious the link. Thus Richard III had 13,000 fustian badges, painted with his white boar, made for the investiture of his son as prince of Wales in 1483, presumably passed out to the citizens of York to wear as he processed through the streets.[54] But then there is the discovery of a silver boar badge on the battlefield of Bosworth, a much higher status piece, almost certainly worn by one of Richard's knights of the body.[55] Even more prestigious again is the so-called Dunstable Jewel, a gold and enamel swan, made

[51] See Jones, *Bloodied Banners*, pp. 57–67.

[52] A. E. Prince, 'The Importance of the Campaign of 1327', *English Historical Review* 50 (1935), p. 301; Keen, *Origins*, pp. 117 and 120; J. F. Verbruggen, *The Art of Warfare in Western Europe during the Middle Ages, from the Eighth Century to 1340*, trans. S. Willard (Woodbridge, 2nd edn 1997), p. 75. Crouch, *Image of Aristocracy*, pp. 233 and 240.

[53] Frédérique Lachaud, 'Dress and Social Status in England before the Sumptuary Laws', in *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display*, ed. Coss and Keen, pp. 105–24. Stella Mary Newton, *Fashion in the Age of the Black Prince* (Woodbridge, 2012), pp. 65–75.

[54] British Library Harley MS 433, fol. 126.

[55] 'Silver Badge and Lead Shot Pinpoint Site of Battle of Bosworth', *The Guardian*, 19 February 2010: https://www.theguardian.com/science/2010/feb/19/battle-bosworth-site-found (accessed 15/6/17). R. W. Jones, 'A Silver Boar on Bosworth Field: The Significance of the Livery Badge on the Medieval Battlefield', *Coat of Arms* 3rd series, 11(1) (2015), pp. 25–34.

in the round, to be worn as a brooch.[56] The giver announced his wealth and marked himself out as one of the greater nobles with the power and prestige to maintain an affinity. The recipient displayed that they had the protection and favour of a great lord. In England by the turn of the fourteenth century these noble affinities had been expanded to include men who acted as enforcers for their lords, who used the political and legal protection of the badge to extort and intimidate in pursuit of local and personal agenda. The disorder got so bad that the Commons sought to curb the problem. They did so not by preventing the Lords from recruiting such men, but by seeking to ban the distribution of the badge itself to any but immediate household servants. Presumably they believed that without the sign of their lord's protection, men would be unwilling to risk the consequences of their predations. That the lords opposed the ban suggests that they saw the attempts to control the distribution of livery as an affront to their dignity and status.[57]

The establishment of the secular chivalric orders of knighthood, each with their own regulations and insignia, provided another layer of collective identity for the knightly class. Unlike the livery badge, which was a statement of aristocratic and political power, the badges of these orders reflected the chivalric pretensions of their members. The story of the selection of the garter for Edward III's great chivalric order, a courtly gesture towards a noble lady, may be apocryphal but it certainly fits the ethos of the order. The badges of other, later orders were much more overt and ambitious in their choice of insignia.[58] The Order of the Ship, founded in Naples in the early 1380s, had a convoluted set of augmentations to its badge of a ship. If one of its members was the first to attack in a battle as part of a force of 1,500 against 2,000 non-Christian opponents, that knight could add a tiller to the badge. If he had participated in an engagement with 800 men per side, and was judged the best knight of the day, he could add a sail, white if the opposition were Christian, red if they were Muslim.[59] Similar augmentations were set down within the statutes of the Order of the Knot (another Neapolitan order, established in 1353) and the Order of the Tiercelet (founded in 1377 by barons in Poitou).[60] Whilst it is unclear if such augmentations were implemented, the founders of these orders most certainly envisaged

[56] *The Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England, 1200–1400*, ed. J. Alexander and P. Binski (London, 1987), p. 659.

[57] N. Saul, 'The Commons and the Abolition of Badges', *Parliamentary History* 9 (1990), p. 302.

[58] D'A. J. D. Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown: The Monarchical Orders of Knighthood in Later Medieval Europe 1325–1520* (Woodbridge, 1987).

[59] *Ibid.*, pp. 320–1.

[60] The Order of the Knot – Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown*, pp. 218–39. The Order of the Tiercelet – M. Vale, 'A Fourteenth-Century Order of Chivalry: The Tiercelet', *English Historical Review* 82 (1967), pp. 332–41.

that their members would almost literally wear their chivalric achievements on their sleeve.

By the fifteenth century, then, the badge seems to have overtaken heraldry as the dominant form of chivalric insignia. In some cases, like the Black Prince's ostrich feathers, it might be juxtaposed against full heraldic insignia as 'arms of peace', almost certainly coming out of tournament usage.[61] The political poems and ballads that were common during the Wars of the Roses used the badges of the great nobles to identify them. In part, no doubt, because it was easier to fit the word dog or boar or swan into the rhyme and meter of a poem than the heraldic blazon of a coat of arms, but also because there was a wider audience for these pieces, beyond the chivalric and heraldic community.[62] The badge was a much more immediate and memorable insignia precisely in its practicality for the battlefield where, again, it had come to dominate.[63]

Why this should be so is difficult to ascertain, but it is clear that by the end of the fourteenth century men were less and less likely to display their personal heraldry on the field. The traditional explanation for this is that developments in armour led to its diminution. Increasing amounts of plate armour rendered the shield superfluous and so it was discarded. Then, around 1400, the process culminated in the fashion for 'white harness', where almost the whole body was enclosed in plate armour, which was shown off uncovered by heraldic surcoat or tabard.

Given how much is made of the importance of the shield and surcoat as vehicles for heraldic display, and how important such display was on the battlefield, there has been surprisingly little consideration of the impact of such changes. The warriors were not just removing something unimportant to them, however. They were setting aside the sign-system that lay at the heart of battlefield display over the previous three centuries. If nothing else, by not displaying their identity, knights were foregoing one of the strongest means of ensuring that they were captured and ransomed rather than killed out of hand. High-quality armour was not a sufficient indicator of status to ensure one was given the consideration due to a knight. Geoffrey le Baker recounts how at Bannockburn Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester, in a rush to be the first into the field, did not don his surcoat, with the result that he went unrecognised by the Scots who killed him where they would have captured him for the ransom.[64]

It has often been argued that the battlefields of the later middle ages were more sanguinary places, with far more casualties amongst men at arms, and one

[61] C. Boutell, *The Handbook to English Heraldry* (London, 1914), pp. 230–7.
[62] T. Wright, *Political Songs of England: From the Reign of John to that of Edward II* (Cambridge, 1996).
[63] Jones, *Bloodied Banners*, pp. 57–68.
[64] *Chronicon Galfridi le Baker de Swynebroke*, ed. E. Maunde Thompson (Oxford, 1889), p. 8.

might be tempted to suggest that the need to display one's identity and rank through heraldry was of less importance, as it was no guarantee of protection anyway. Yet, the knight could still expect some consideration for his rank and the benefits of ransom. Besides, marking one's status and identity by bearing one's arms was about more than just minimising the risks of battle. It was about signifying participation in battle, the *raison d'être* of the knightly classes, ensuring that great deeds were witnessed.

As we have argued, there was a direct connection between the display of heraldry and the acquisition of the honour due from military service and martial deeds. Heraldry was important in ensuring that such deeds were witnessed and that honour was enhanced. Sir Geoffrey de Charny wrote that the young knight should perform great deeds in order that his arms be recognised and remembered, and that such deeds would lend them more lustre than fine gems and embroidery.[65]

The decline in heraldic display on the battlefield suggests a diminution of the importance of martial prowess as a prerequisite of gentility. The rise of aspiring gentry seeking the status and trappings of their chivalric betters was neither wholly nor even primarily military. Their family honour and their personal status were not predicated on their being seen on the battlefield, but came from recognition in their communities.[66]

A different interpretation for this 'crisis' in heraldry comes from Michel Pastoureau. He argues that by the late middle ages heraldry no longer served to identify the individual but was instead a sign-system that emphasised family, dynastic and political ties.[67] In their search for a means to assert their individuality in visual form, he argues, the chivalric elite, and especially the 'new money' of the late medieval nobility, turned to a series of badges, *devises* and rebuses (the latter being visual puns on names). These tended to be nuanced and subtle allusions to the virtuous aspirations and undertakings of their bearers, increasingly with classical or allegorical origins. These *impreses*, as they became known in the sixteenth century, were increasingly used in contexts hitherto reserved for heraldry: the shields and banners of tournament and pageant, signet rings and plate, as well as buildings.[68]

[65] Geoffrey de Charny, *The Book of Chivalry of Geoffroi de Charny: Text, Context and Translation*, ed. R. Kaeuper and E. Kennedy (Philadelphia, 1996), pp. 192–5.

[66] Keen, *Origins*, pp. 115–16.

[67] M. Pastoureau, 'Aux origines de l'emblème: la crise de l'héraldique européene aux XVe et XVIe siècles', *L'Hermine et le Sinople. Études d'Héraldique Médiévale* (Paris, 1982), pp. 327–34.

[68] By the time of the Thirty Years War in Europe and the civil wars in Britain, such *impreses* were the norm on military standards and ensigns, particularly for cavalry units. For examples see P. M. Daly *et al.*, *The English Emblem Tradition*, III: *Emblematic Flag Devices of the English Civil Wars 1642–1660* (Toronto, 1995).

Pastoureau may, as Cheeseman argues, have overestimated how far the adoption of *impreses* was a turn away from heraldry and how far it was simply the new fashion of a new generation, and it is certain that heraldry did not vanish altogether, nor lose its significance as a mark of inherited status.[69] As Woodcock has pointed out, humanist attacks satirising chivalry and pointing out its absurdities and dangers did not destroy it. Instead the chivalric elite came to recognise that both the traditional acquisition of honour by combat and the modern ideas of acquiring honour through the pursuit of learning and classical education were valid and necessary elements in the establishment of *noblesse*.[70] Heraldry, like chivalry, no longer had that direct connection with martial virtue and *prouesse* that had lain at the heart of its development upon the tournament fields of the twelfth century, but it was still an important sign of nobility and of chivalry.

It is, perhaps, indicative that as heraldry became less directly martial in its nature, so it came more formally into the hands of the heralds. It was in the fifteenth century that the number of heralds peaked and they established their corporate identities.[71] The French royal heralds were incorporated in 1407, Henry V established William Bruges as the first Garter King of Arms in 1417, and in 1420 or 1421 the first chapter of English royal heralds was held at Rouen.[72] Whilst these bodies claimed an ancient precedence, claiming classical antecedents in the same way as knighthood had done and as the chivalric community would for both heraldry and chivalry as a whole, the fact that even as late as the 1520s the officers of arms were still arguing about their own relative dignities and privileges would suggest that this level of incorporation and the rights, responsibilities and benefits that came with it were still rather new.[73] Much has been assumed about their role and their authority to grant arms, but the most recent work across Europe has suggested that at best this authority was merely borrowed by men who were officers of a sovereign, or it may indeed have been an assumption born out of later practice.[74] The first recognised visitation by a herald – in which he would tour his territory recording arms, determining the user's right to them and removing those arms which had been assumed without right – is regularly pronounced to have been 1417, by the order of Henry V. The reality of the instruction was that it was only the men who were to serve

[69] C. Cheeseman, 'Some Aspects of the Crisis of Heraldry', *The Coat of Arms*, 3rd series, 6 (2010), pp. 65–80.

[70] See Matthew Woodcock's chapter below.

[71] K. Stevenson, 'Introduction', in *The Herald in Late Medieval Europe*, ed. K. Stevenson (Woodbridge, 2009), p. 4.

[72] A. Ailes, 'Ancient Precedent or Tudor Fiction? Garter King of Arms and the Pronouncements of the Duke of Clarence', in *The Herald*, ed. Stevenson, pp. 30–1.

[73] On the dispute over the precedence of the Garter King of Arms see Ailes, 'Ancient Precedent or Tudor Fiction?', *passim*.

[74] Stevenson, *The Herald*, pp. 5–6.

in Henry's forthcoming campaign that had to prove they had the right to bear arms, either by ancestral usage or by grant from one with authority to do so.[75] As such it had a very narrow remit. Henry gave the purpose of the enquiries as being that 'although the Almighty dispenses his grace as he will upon rich and poor, nevertheless the king's will is that of his lieges every man shall be entreated as his estate demands', and offenders were to be refused permission to sail, forfeit their wages and have the arms they wore defaced and broken. This would suggest that Henry was serious in his desire to 'clean up' the usage of heraldry. However, this is the only such investigation to be ordered before the reign of Henry VIII, which would indicate that such strict regulation was not the norm.

Although it is not until the fifteenth century that we see the incorporation of heralds, it is clear that they had a hierarchy of their own from much earlier. The thirteenth century already had well-established gradations of herald – pursuivant, herald and king of arms – with men bearing the title 'kings of arms' amongst the English royal household between 1282 and 1320.[76] Despite the lack of a formal incorporation, there seems to have been a sense of supra-national fraternity that placed them outside of politics and war, and gave them the ability to act as ambassadors and intermediaries.[77] In Froissart we see heralds acting as go-betweens for commanders in English armies, being sent to treat for the submission of towns and castles, as well as acting as ambassadors between nations.[78] It was the future Windsor herald (although only a pursuivant at the time) who took Edward III news of the victory at Auray in September 1364, although he passed the news to the chronicler Froissart *en route*.[79] After major engagements it is the heralds we read of scouring the battlefield to identify the dead, and it cannot be too much of a stretch to imagine they were the ones taking news of the fallen to their families.

Heralds are amongst the unseen denizens of the battlefield. Like the priests that are only occasionally recorded praying for victory at the rear of their armies, infrequent mentions of heralds on the periphery of the fighting alert us to their

[75] Close Rolls, 5 Henry V, 15d, *Calendar of the Close Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office: Henry V; prepared under the superintendence of the Deputy Keeper of the Records* (London, 1929), I, p. 433.

[76] R. Barber, *Edward III and the Triumph of England: The Battle of Crécy and the Company of the Garter* (London, 2013).

[77] Stevenson, *The Herald*, pp. 6–7.

[78] *Sir John Froissart's Chronicles of England, France, and the adjoining Countries, from the latter part of the Reign of Edward II to the Coronation of Henry IV*, ed. and trans. T. Johnes (London, 1805), I, pp. 422–7; 'Jean Froissart, Chronicles', Book III, fol. 232v, trans. K. Borrill, *The Online Froissart*, ed. P. Ainsworth and G. Croenen, version 1.5 (Sheffield, 2013), http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart (accessed 6/7/17); 'Jean Froissart, Chronicles', Book II, fol. 69v, *The Online Froissart* (accessed 6/7/17)

[79] M. Jones, 'The March of Brittany and its Heralds in the Later Middle Ages', in *The Herald*, ed. Stevenson, p. 70.

routine presence and purpose. Ayton summarises it neatly in the term 'the professional spectators of the battlefield'.[80] They accompanied their lords, whether monarchs or nobles, and seem to have watched from the sidelines. The most famous example, thanks to Shakespeare, is Agincourt where the French royal herald Montjoie watched the battle alongside his English counterpart before declaring the English the victors and settling on a name for the engagement.[81] As Ayton notes, however, the descriptions of battle recorded by chroniclers throughout the period often have the air of deriving from eyewitness testimony, with a focus on the deeds of individual knights taking centre stage, exactly the material most of interest to the heralds.[82] He suggests that a number of the 'heroic vignettes' written into the chronicle accounts of Crécy sound 'very much like a memoir drawn from a herald's battlefield notebook'.[83] It would make sense if many more accounts derived from similar eyewitness sources. Being on the sidelines, the herald would be in a much better position to record the events of the battle than its participants who, often cited by chroniclers as unnamed sources, were embroiled in the thick of the action. As 'registrars of prowess', as Keen describes them, they must have had an eye for such matters.[84]

This would suggest a picture of the edge of the battlefield surrounded by, potentially, hundreds of heralds, all focusing on their particular lord's activities, making record of noteworthy actions, and sharing opinions on the swordsmanship of individual combatants, like a group of cricket aficionados at a Test Match – something hard to imagine, perhaps, although many pre-modern battlefields saw civilian spectators arriving on the fringes of the action to watch. Locals got caught up in the rout of the parliamentarian foot at Marston Moor, having come from local villages to Marston Hill to watch the action, whilst hundreds of civilians came out of Washington to watch the First Bull Run in the early years of America's civil war.[85] Similarly, interested amateurs routinely attached themselves to armies: the duke of Richmond wandered the Allied lines at Waterloo,

[80] A. Ayton, 'Crécy and the Chroniclers', in *The Battle of Crécy, 1346*, ed. A. Ayton and Philip Preston (Woodbridge, 2005), p. 292.

[81] J. Barker, *Agincourt: The King, the Campaign, the Battle* (London, 2006), pp. 309–10.

[82] Ayton, 'Crécy and the Chroniclers', p. 292.

[83] *Ibid.*, p. 292.

[84] Keen, *Chivalry*, pp. 134, 138–9.

[85] For Marston Moor, Capt. W. Stewart, *A full relation of the late victory obtained (through Gods providence) by the forces under the command of Generall Lesley, the Lord Fairfax, and the Earl of Manchester …* (London, 1644), http://name.umdl.umich.edu/A93894.0001.001 (accessed 10/7/17); for the First Bull Run, see J. J. Hennessy, 'War Watchers at Bull Run During America's Civil War', *Civil War Times Illustrated* 40 (August 2001), http://www.historynet.com/war-watchers-at-bull-run-during-americas-civil-war.htm (accessed 10/7/17).

in spite of the duke of Wellington telling him he had no place on the field.[86] In light of this, the presence of the herald, a professional in the employ of those fighting, should not be surprising. Given how important it was to recognise the rank and reputation of the men against whom one fought, having a man at your side who was able to do just that, to recognise the gonfanon of your enemies, as one fifteenth-century manual has it, or to be able to name the man whom you had captured based on the arms he wore, could be of great importance.[87]

The herald had not always been a figure of status and standing, entrusted with the messages and matters of state. Their origins, like that of heraldry, lay in the tournament field. Counted amongst the troubadours and minstrels, the heralds of the twelfth through to the fourteenth century come across as itinerant, even vagabond figures, scraping together a living from the largesse of the knights and lords whose praises they sang at the tournament's edge.[88] There is definitely a sense that they were at heart self-appointed enthusiasts for knightly combat. That they should carry that same enthusiasm to the battlefield should not surprise us.

Heraldry and the heralds were born out of the performative nature of chivalric culture. For the follower of chivalry, the field of battle was little different from the tournament field. Both were a stage on which deeds of prowess might be performed. Such deeds had to be witnessed, and heraldry and the heralds were the means by which the chivalric elite ensured that they were. That visual language of the chivalric elite, and its interpreters the heralds, continued to evolve along with the culture of which it was a part, sharing its complexity, nuance and vibrancy.

[86] C. Summerville, *Who Was Who at Waterloo: A Biography of the Battle* (London, 2014), pp. 341–2.

[87] A. Ayton, 'The English Army at Crécy', in *The Battle of Crécy*, ed. Ayton and Preston, p. 167; Crouch, *Tournament*, p. 63.

[88] Crouch, *The Tournament*, p. 63. Keen, *Chivalry*, pp. 135–6.

9

Arms and Armour

RALPH MOFFAT

The chivalrous were duty bound to use force against all opponents of their code. For exponents such as Geoffroi de Charny, good knights would inevitably receive many fractures and wounds in the maintenance of the order of chivalry.[1] Appropriate equipment was, therefore, essential to the warrior. This chapter will be devoted to an examination of the weapons and armour used by the chivalric warrior. Which weapons and armour were considered chivalrous and which were not? How did the use, origin, style, fit, movement, and even the sound, of these objects ensure one would be considered part of the chivalric elite? How important was training? With such questions in mind I will employ a mixture of written primary sources and surviving examples of material culture to provide an insight into the world of the chivalric warrior. I will examine the major items of weaponry and armour one by one.

The Sword

This was the most important weapon to the chivalrous. Throughout the early middle ages it was a special weapon, the sheer quantity of iron used in its manufacture and the skill required to produce a functioning sword made it the weapon of the warrior elite. The making of swords had long been imbued with a mystique that often made them appear magical, and the heroes of epic and romance invariably bore weapons of special significance – throughout the centuries all would have known of the great deeds done by Roland with Durendal and by Arthur with Excalibur.[2] The connection of the sword with the elite warrior continued into the chivalric period. The sword was girded about the waist as part of the knighting ceremony. Swords were blessed as part of the ceremony and

[1] *The Book of Chivalry of Geoffroi de Charny*, intro. R. W. Kaeuper, trans. E. Kennedy (Philadelphia, 1996), p. 174.

[2] R. E. Oakeshott, *Records of the Medieval Sword* (Woodbridge, 1991), remains the most detailed overview.

the weapon's obvious resemblance to the Cross on which the Saviour died was picked up on by such exponents as Ramon Llull.[3] The two sharpened edges of the blade, for de Charny, were a constant reminder that the wielder must always protect and uphold righteousness, reason and justice.[4]

The 'armyng swerde' was a constant companion borne at the hip [fig. 1].[5] The longsword, by contrast, came into use in the later medieval period and was wielded in one or two hands. A 'long sutill espeie p[u]r la guerr'' was the gift of the Black Prince in the 1350s.[6]

1 Arming sword, *c.* 1250

Training and constant practice were key to the effective use of the weapon. Several blunted practice swords were listed in the Armoury of the Tower of London in 1455 as they were 'made in wasters so[m]me gretter and so[m]me smaller for to lerne the kyng to play in his tendre age'.[7] Henry IV injured the thumb of his longsword master Bertolfe Vander Eme whilst sparring.[8] Even if the blade were to break, there was no excuse for capitulation. An experienced knight recounts a single combat in which Godfrey of Bouillon, conqueror of Jerusalem, despite his sword breaking to the cross-guard fought on using the

[3] Ramon Llull's *Llibre del Orde de Cavalleria (1274–76)*, ed. and trans. N. Fallows (Woodbridge, 2013), pp. 66–70.
[4] de Charny, pp. 168–9.
[5] As described in an English will of 1445: Nottingham University Library, Middleton MSS Mi F 6/14. All the primary documents cited will be made available in translation in the author's forthcoming *Medieval Arms & Armour: A Source Book*.
[6] Kew, National Archives [hereafter TNA], E36/278.
[7] TNA, C66/480/7.
[8] C. Blair and I. Delamer, 'The Dublin Civic Swords', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 88 (1988), pp. 87–142 (p. 127).

pommel to beat his opponent to the ground.[9] Ambidextrous sword skills were also needed. An English crusader fought on with his left hand after his enemies had severed the right.[10]

Throughout Christendom German steel was held in the highest esteem. One observer was filled with awe at the sight of the saint-king Louis IX leading the army of Christ with gilt helm on head and 'espee dAlemainge' in hand.[11] Cologne-made swords were lauded but those of Passau were the most revered. They are to be found in the possession of hardened warriors such as Sir Simon Burley and Olivier de Clisson. In the armoury in the Tower of London in 1413 was a 'longsword called Passau'.[12] German ingenuity saw the production of one of the earliest printed books on metallurgy. It draws on centuries of theorising and contains many weird and wonderful recipes for quenching and tempering blades.[13]

The Lance

The lance was held as sacred because it had been used by the soldier Longinus to pierce the side of Christ. Wielding it effectively was an essential skill for the mounted knight, the *chevalier*. The full force of both man and beast was transferred through the piercing head of this lethal weapon. For the veteran knight Jean de Bueil it was 'a very devious weapon', there being 'no entry to be found that is so small that it may not enter. When it arrives there it is without mercy. The most perilous feats of arms in the world are those on horseback and of the lance – for there is no calling "Whoa!"'[14]

A report to Edward III from the Scottish Pale proudly informed him that an enemy had 'been killed in a joust of war by one of my valets who struck him through the body and through his padded aketon and haubergeon [mail shirt]'.[15] The pages of chroniclers of chivalry such as Froissart are filled with graphic descriptions of such lance injuries.

[9] Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du Vieil Pelerin*, ed. G. W. Coopland, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1969), II, p. 380.
[10] London, British Library, Cotton MS Julius A.v., fol. 187r.
[11] Sire de Joinville, *La Vie de Saint Louis*, ed. J. Monfrain (Paris, 1995), p. 122.
[12] J. P. Huffman, *Family, Commerce and Religion in London and Cologne: Anglo-German Emigrants, c. 1000–c. 1300* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 175–6, for Cologne. Oxford, Bodleian MS Eng. Hist. b. fol. 5r; Pau, Archives départementales des Basses-Pyrénées, E 134, fol. 6r; TNA, E361/6, m. 11d.
[13] Anon., *Von Stahel und Eysen* (Strasbourg, 1545).
[14] *Le Jouvencel par Jean de Bueil*, ed. L. Lecestre, 2 vols (Paris, 1887–89), II, pp. 100–1.
[15] TNA, SC1/54/30.

The Pollaxe

2 Pollaxe, fifteenth century

This is a weapon associated with elaborate chivalric combats of the fifteenth century due to its frequent appearance in French and Burgundian chronicles and knightly biographies such as the *Livre des faits* of Sir Jacques de Lalaing. A manual providing extensive instruction for its use survives in a French manuscript of this period.[16] Its appearance in the documentary record, however, reveals a felonious use: 'poleaxes' (described in forensic detail) were used to break down an oak door and the wooden chest of the unfortunate Alice Taylor in Aldgate in 1314.[17] Pollaxes are firmly placed as war weapons ('pur la guerre') in lists of equipment of campaigning English noblemen from the 1380s, and 119 'pollaxhedes' were inventoried in the Tower in 1413.[18] Despite their rare survival, their presence was ubiquitous on the field of battle.

[16] S. Anglo, '*Le Jeu de la Hache*: A 15th-Century Treatise on the Technique of Chivalric Axe Combat', *Archaeologia* 109 (1991), pp. 113–28.
[17] Oxford, Bodleian MS Tanner 13, fol. 418r.
[18] Oxford, Bodleian MS Eng. Hist. b. fol. 5r; TNA, E361/6, m. 11d.

In stark contrast to the 'fair' weapons of close combat, by which a knight might defeat his foe in an honest contest, and take him prisoner, were the unchivalrous missile weapons.

Bows and Crossbows

3 Crossbow, fourteenth century

'Know that it was a very fine feat of arms,' recalled a nobleman of a battle in Egypt, 'for none drew bow or crossbow.'[19] To take an opponent's life from a cowardly safe distance was the antithesis of chivalric conduct.[20] A teenage witness to one battle tells us that the Scots and English archers exchanged their arrows 'so cruelly that it was a horror to see, for they dealt death to those they got a clear

[19] de Joinville, *La Vie de Saint Louis*, p. 122.

[20] D. H. Breiding, *A Deadly Art: European Crossbows, 1250–1850* (New York/New Haven, CT, 2013) draws on the researches of De Cosson, Payne-Gallwey, and Alm.

shot at!'[21] The Papal interdict of 1139 of the use of bow and crossbow against fellow Christians was entirely futile.[22] The genie could not be put back in the bottle. Medieval armies were comprised of vast numbers of bowmen. One royal French duke had one hundred Scottish archers in his employ in 1391.[23] Personal bodyguards of elite archers (oft-despised by enemies) were employed by such monarchs as Richard II of England and Charles VII of France. That great doyen of chivalry Richard *Coeur de Lion* was known to have picked up a crossbow to take pot-shots at the defenders during sieges, and was even carried out on his sickbed at the siege of Acre in 1191 so that he could use his crossbow to pick off those who showed themselves at the walls.[24]

Such behaviour was rare, however, and the more common use of bows and crossbows by the chivalrous occurred off the battlefield, for hunting and target shooting. An 'honneste recreation' for a young prince, advised an experienced knight, was to practise with the bow and crossbow.[25] 'I am led to believe that you are a very good crossbowman', wrote René of Anjou to his friend, 'and that you take great pleasure in crossbow shooting; I tell you that, for my part, I have taken great pleasure in it all my life.'[26] We find painted bows for hunting inventoried in the Tower in 1372 and amongst the effects of an English knight a few years later.[27]

Guns

If hand-drawn missile weapons were held in low esteem, a new technology would plunge the concept of chivalrous conduct in battle and siege to a new low. An English medical writer despised 'that warlike or diabolic instrument that

[21] *Recueil des croniques* […] *de la Grant Bretaigne, par Jehan de Waurin*, ed. W. Hardy, 6 vols (London, 1864–91), III, p. 122. For the debate about the efficacy of arrows against armour see R. Moffat, 'The Importance of Being Harnest: Armour, Heraldry and Recognition in the Mêlée', in *Battle and Bloodshed: The Medieval World at War*, ed. L. Bleach and K. Borrill (Newcastle, 2013), pp. 5–24 (at pp. 10–15). M. Strickland and R. Hardy, *The Great Warbow: From Hastings to the Mary Rose* (Stroud, 2005, repr. 2011) remains the most useful study of this weapon.

[22] K. J. von Hefele, *Histoire des conciles d'apres les documents originaux*, trans. and continued H. Leclerq (1907–52), 5/1, pp. 721–2.

[23] Cited in *Copiale prioratus Sanctiandree: The Letter Book of James Haldenstone, Prior of St. Andrews (1418-1443)*, ed. J. H. Baxter (London: Oxford University Press, 1930), p. 221.

[24] *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, trans. J. Brundage, in *The Crusades: A Documentary History* (Milwaukee, WI, 1962), pp. 175–81.

[25] de Mézières, *Le Songe du Vieil Pelerin*, II, p. 212.

[26] Leeds, Royal Armouries Library MS RAR.0241; I.241.

[27] 'arc' depict' [...] p[ro] venac'': TNA E101/397/10; 'arcz p[u]r le boys': Oxford, Bodleian MS Eng. Hist. b. 229, fol. 5r.

commonly is termed the gun'.[28] Great paragons of chivalry had their careers prematurely snuffed out by gunpowder weapons, notably Lord Talbot at Castillon in 1453 and Sir Jacques de Lalaing at Pocques in same year. Attempts were well underway to protect the body. An Iberian fightmaster based in Milan tells us that the Innsbruck masters in the 1460s endeavoured to make cuirasses resistant to 'sclopetis', a type of small bombard.[29]

In 1590 the master of the Tower Armoury had two breastplates made of different metal and was entrusted to 'make a trial of them bothe with all indyfference' with a 'good and stronge pystolle'.[30] Resistance to a type of long arm similar to a musket can be shown in the sale of a harness 'Calyver proof the back with other peces of pistoll proof' in 1586.[31] In the same year there is a hint of 'I told you so' in the discussion of the death of Sir Philip Sidney: 'in the opinion of diuers Gentlemen that sawe him hurt with a Mosquet shot, if he had that day worne his cuisses [thigh defences], the bullet had not broken his thigh bone, by reason that the chiefe force of the bullet (before the blowe) was in a manner past'.[32]

Reinforced breastplates were also developed, as seen in the very fine example made for William, earl of Pembroke's Greenwich armour for man and horse *c.* 1555 [figs 4 and 5]. A caliver-proof armour is referred to in a letter of 1598.[33]

Good-quality steel would even protect against larger ordinance. Sir Thomas Darcy 'was strooken glauncing wyse on the ryght syde, with a bullet of one of their felde peces, and thearby his body broosed wyth the boowynge in of hys harneys' at Pinkie Cleugh in 1547.[34]

If weapons were key symbols of the chivalrous (and unchivalrous), it is perhaps the personal body protection that has most lodged in the popular imagination as the 'knight in shining armour'.

[28] Cited in F. Getz, 'Mirfield, John (d. 1407), ecclesiastic and medical writer', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online edn, 2004).

[29] 'faciendum thorace[m] resistentem sclopetis: que species bombardar[um] paruula est'. Pietro Monte, *Exercitiorum atque artis militaris collectanea in tris* [*sic*] *libros distincta* (Milan, 1509), Lib. II, Cap. cxxviij. Scholars owe a great debt to Prof. Sydney Anglo who has translated and interpreted much of Monte's work in *The Martial Arts of Renaissance Europe* (New Haven, CT, 2000). For his discussion of this passage see pp. 213–14. The author is grateful to him for sharing images of this rare book.

[30] H. A. Dillon, 'A Letter of Sir Henry Lee, 1590, on the trial of Iron for Armour', *Archaeologia* 51 (1888), pp. 167–72 (pp. 172–3).

[31] London, British Library, Additional MS 34744, fol. 1r.

[32] Sir John Smythe, *Certain Discourses* […] *of divers Sorts of Weapons* […] (London, 1590), sig. B3.

[33] Taunton, Somerset Record Office DD\WO/56/4/38.

[34] W. Patten, *Expedicion into Scotlande* […] (London, 1548), p. 62.

4 Greenwich armour for man and horse for the earl of Pembroke, *c.* 1555

5 Reinforcing breastplate for the Greenwich armour of the earl of Pembroke, *c.* 1555

Harness

A word of unknown origin, 'harness' was applied to armour from at least the early fourteenth century. We find 'a complete harness for a knight' ('herneys integ[r]a p[ro] vno milite') plundered from a battlefield in 1322 and one 'harneys entier de maille' as a gift of Edward the Black Prince later in the century.[35]

Beneath the hard carapace of mail and plate were essential fabric defences and foundation garments. Fabric as a defence is the unsung hero of a warrior's armour. Its thick folds of padding absorbed blows and helped to prevent blades and arrowheads penetrating vulnerable flesh. There are, however, no survivals from the age of chivalry for us to study in detail. From the point of view of the chivalric, some types of fabric defence were perceived as common. Numerous acts of parliament required military service of low-born soldiers armed in

[35] TNA, C145/87/25; TNA, E36/278.

the aketon – a padded cotton and linen body defence.[36] High-status examples appear in the records – around 1302 coffers were made for the linen armour ('lineis armatur'), of Edward of Caernarfon for a campaign.[37] The confraternity of craftsmen in London who made aketons and armour linings came together to legally enshrine their 'articles' in 1322.[38]

With the increasing use of plate, a specialised foundation garment was needed. An English knight had a 'doublet de worstede noir p[u]r armo[u]r' (worsted: a light woollen cloth) in 1387, and by 1414 it was referred to as an 'armyngdoublett'.[39] Close fitting and well padded, it was made with sets of reinforced holes (called 'eyes'), which were sometimes made from old mail links. Through the eyes would pass the metal-tipped laces (arming points) fed through small holes in the steel plates of the harness. Waxed crossbow-cord was best for points, according to one English expert, so that they would neither 'recche nor breke'.[40] As with the aketon, there are no surviving examples but they are depicted in great detail in artwork.

Although steel plate became dominant, other materials were employed. *Cuir bouilli* – water- and heat-treated animal hide – was elaborately shaped as a defence, and whale baleen plates were most frequently used in the construction of crests, portions of armour for tourneying, and soldier's gauntlets.[41]

Mail

More examples of this intricate and flexible body defence have survived. A mesh of interlocked rings, it had been in use for centuries before the middle ages, the classical Latin name *lorica* enduring in such documents as wills and inventories. In an act of 750 a Lombard king insisted that the *loricius* be borne by the better sort of his subjects.[42] The position of 'loricario regis' of Edward I was established

[36] R. Moffat, 'Aketon', in *Encyclopedia of Medieval Dress and Textiles of the British Isles, c. 450–1450*, ed. G. Owen-Crocker *et al.* (Leiden, 2012).

[37] TNA, E101/363/18.

[38] London Metropolitan Archives, Letter-Book E, fol. 133r.

[39] Oxford, Bodleian MS Eng. Hist. b. 229, fol. 5r; Berkeley Castle Archives, Muniment D1/1/30. The author is grateful to Dr Tobias Capwell for drawing attention to the latter source.

[40] New York, Pierpont Morgan Library MS M775, fol. 122v.

[41] A. V. B. Norman, 'A Newly-discovered Piece of 14th-century [Cuir Bouilli] Armour', *Journal of the Arms & Armour Society* 8 (1975), pp. 229–33; R. Moffat and J. Spriggs, 'The Use of Baleen for Arms, Armour and Heraldic Crests in Medieval Britain', *Antiquaries Journal* 88 (2008), pp. 207–15.

[42] Cited in W. Stubbs, *Constitutional History of England*, 3 vols (4th edn, Oxford, 1880–87), I, pp. 526–7.

6 Haubergeon, fourteenth to fifteenth centuries

in the 1280s as demonstrated by his payments to him for various types of wire.[43] The name for a long mail body defence in various European languages was the hauberk. Its diminutive short-sleeved successor was the haubergeon, a fine example of which survives in the collection of Glasgow Museums [fig. 6].

Technical details as to the nature of its construction, for example iron or steel, the section of the wire (round or flat), and the manner of riveting – highly nailed as opposed to half nailed – were important to the bearer as it affected the ability

[43] TNA, C47/4/3.

of the mail to protect.[44] A rare reference to heat treatment comes in an allegorical pilgrim's mention of a haubergeon riveted with the nails of the Saviour's passion and 'tempred in þe blood þat com out of hise woundes'.[45] Parisian haubergers (mail makers) accused unregulated vendors of passing off iron as steel and cheap knock-offs from Germany as fine Lombard work.[46] Mail was often lined and covered – cheap leather for those lower down and finer fabrics for their betters. Internal mail, silk waste and elaborately decorated facings came together in the jazerant, brought back from the Near East but originating in Persia.[47]

Despite the increasing use of steel plates, mail continued to be essential. Small pieces were used to protect the parts of the body the plates did not – the voids – giving them the name 'voiders' from the 1370s.[48] The Pisan collar of mail, known simply as a 'pisan' by 1300, was to be found protecting throats throughout Christendom.[49] There is no evidence to say for certain whether these were produced in Pisa or simply sold from there; possibly it was even a joke casting aspersions on the safety of that city.

Plate Armour

The sun glinting off polished surfaces of intricately shaped steel is the enduring image of the chivalric warrior: the knight in shining armour. Its development has been traced in detail by many scholars seeking causation: an increasing use of weapons such as bow and crossbow, for example, and changes in the nature of combat, such as the greater tendency to dismount for battle.[50] As our purpose is to understand its use amongst the chivalrous, it is not necessary to outline such technical matters here.

[44] W. Reid and E. M. Burgess, 'A Haubergeon of Westwale [Westphalia]', *Antiquaries Journal* 40 (1960), pp. 46–57, brings together Burgess's practical research published in numerous articles in the 1950s.

[45] *Pilgrimage of the Lyfe of the Manhode* […], ed. A. Henry, 2 vols (Oxford, 1985–88), I, p. 53.

[46] Paris, Archives nationales, Châtelet de Paris, Y2, Livre rouge vieil, fol. 236r.

[47] R. Moffat, 'Jazerant', in *Encyclopedia of Medieval Dress and Textiles*, ed. Owen-Crocker *et al* (Leiden, 2012).

[48] TNA, E163/6/13. TNA, CC66/301/5.

[49] They were in the possession of Edward of Caernarfon in 1303 (TNA, E101/363/18). In 1316 'ii. coleretes pizaines' were the property of Louis X (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France MS fonds français 7855) and 'ij collerettes de pissaigne' belonged to Edward III (TNA, E101/624/34).

[50] C. Blair, *European Armour, c. 1066–c. 1700* (London, 1958). This seminal work synthesises his own extensive research with that of his predecessors Meyrick, De Cosson, Beard, Cripps-Day, Mann, Laking, ffoulkes, Grose, Dillon, Hewitt and Norman. T. Capwell, *Armour of the English Knight, 1400–1450* (London, 2015) is a fresh approach combining the study of artefacts and artworks such as tomb effigies.

7 Milanese 'Avant' harness, 1438–40

When it came to harness the chivalrous warrior insisted on both style and substance [fig. 7]. The Alps, blessed with the best quality ores, extensive forests for charcoal, fast-running water to power blast furnaces and trip hammers, gave the lands of northern Italy and southern Germany a huge advantage.[51] They became the largest centres of production and most of the surviving material culture originates from them. There is an oft-quoted report by Froissart of the preparations for the judicial duel between the future Henry IV and the duke of Norfolk: Henry sent to duke of Milan who offered not only the choice of his armoury but also craftsmen to ensure its fit; Norfolk, in contrast, sent to an unspecified place in Germany.[52] From the early fourteenth century various pieces of armour 'de lumbardie' start to appear in English sources.[53] A Franseys de melano was working at the Tower of London in the 1390s using his skills to temper a visor.[54] In 1421 Henry V waited in vain for 'certain armerers and harnois' he was expecting to come 'out of Lumbardy'.[55] For the Frenchman describing the harness borne in his realm in 1446, that of Milan was so common that there was no need to describe it in detail as everybody knew its form.[56]

There is less detail as to the earlier centres of production in the German lands. For war, 'plates de alemayne' are recommended by an English writer of the early fourteenth century.[57] In 1387 a young French duke ordered a little *pourpoint* (close-fitting body garment) be sent to 'Allemaigne' for a pair of steel plates. There are more examples of purchases of this type by the French nobility.[58] The region of Westphalia is mentioned several times in relation to mail; thus we find steel mail neck-defences 'de Westfale' amongst the armour of an English earl in 1397.[59] Individual cities in this region are sometimes identified: a 'pysayne de Arnebergh' (Arnsberg) was purchased for the Agincourt campaign.[60] A haubergeon with a link marked with the name of an identified Iserlohn maker is in the Royal Armouries. Various defences 'de mayle westvale' were inventoried

[51] A. Williams, *The Knight and the Blast Furnace: A History of the Metallurgy of Armour in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period* (Leiden, 2003), pp. 207–8.
[52] *Chroniques de Froissart*, ed. J. A. Buchon (Paris, 1826), III, p. 317.
[53] TNA, E352/120.
[54] Blair and Delamer, 'Dublin Civic Swords', pp. 122–3.
[55] TNA, E101/188/10/2.
[56] 'Et si vous me demandez de quantes pieces ilz sont faiz je vous respons quil nest ja besoing que je le declaire plus particulierement car tout le mond le seet'. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France MS fonds français 1997, fol. 63r.
[57] London, British Library, Additional MS 46919, fols 86v–86r, ed. and trans. R. Moffat, 'The Manner of Arming Knights for the Tourney: A Re-Interpretation of an Important Early 14th-Century Arming Treatise', *Arms & Armour* 7 (2010), pp. 5–29 (at p. 6).
[58] R. Moffat, 'Armourers & Armour: Textual Evidence', in *Encyclopedia of Medieval Dress and Textiles*, ed. Owen-Crocker *et al.*
[59] TNA, E163/6/13.
[60] Berkeley Castle Archives, Muniment D1/1/30

amongst the stock of a Southwark armour-dealer in 1454 and worn-out haubergeons 'of westwale' at the Tower in 1455 were recycled into sleeves and voiders.[61] For plate armour, the cities of Augsburg, Nuremberg and Innsbruck had become well established by the second half of the fifteenth century.[62]

In addition to natural resources, it was the metalworking skills of the craftsmen that gave German and Italian manufacturing areas the advantage. For one Burgundian observer of a single combat, it was impossible that the harness of a Milanese was able to withstand the blows without 'artifice ou ayde' and it must have been tempered in some special water.[63] For our Milan-based Iberian fightmaster the best iron and steel were to be found in Innsbruck.[64] The smug tone of the letter of an English diplomat in 1536 is almost unbearable. He bragged of his Innsbruck harness, gifted by none other than Emperor Maximilian, and that a 'fairer, or of better metal, cannot be found'.[65] Although much of the focus of study has been on these larger centres, it has been shown that there were many others: an example is that of the London armourers who were producing armour for prominent nobles of the realm from the fourteenth century.[66]

Having a good-quality harness was all well and good. However, it had to become familiar on a day-to-day basis – a second skin – and this would mark one out as chivalrous. An allegorical pilgrim describes how he 'felte þe armure upon me grievous and hevi' complaining that a helm 'dooth me so gret encoumbraunce þat I am [...] blynd and def'.[67] The merchant in a Burgundian tale, unused to fighting, is armed in a large, heavy and old harness.[68] De Charny has nothing but contempt for those who hastily struggle out of their armour, are quickly taken prisoner, or are easily killed due to their being constrained by their inability to 'souffrir leur harnois'.[69] A Dominican preacher decried the cowardly

[61] Reid and Burgess, 'Haubergeon of Westwale', pp. 46–7; London Metropolitan Archives, Plea and Memoranda Roll A80, m. 4; TNA, C66/480/7.

[62] A. von Reitzenstein, 'Die Ordnung der Augsburger Plattner', *Waffen- und Kostümkunde* ser. 3, 2 (1960), pp. 96–100; A. von Reitzenstein, 'Die Ordnung der Nürnberger Plattner', *Waffen- und Kostümkunde* ser. 3, 4 (1959), pp. 54–85; B. Thomas and O. Gamber, *Die Innsbrucker Plattnerkunst* (Innsbruck, 1954).

[63] *Mémoires d'Olivier de La Marche*, ed. H. Beaune and J. d'Arbaumont, 4 vols (Paris: Renouard, 1883–88), II, p. 159.

[64] 'Inspruco germanie ciuitate optima[m] ferrum and calibs inuenitur' (Monte, *Exercitiorum*, Lib. II, Cap. cxxviij); Anglo, *Martial Arts*, pp. 213–14.

[65] *Letters and Papers* [...] *Henry VIII*, ed. J. Gairdner (London, 1890), XII, p. 180.

[66] Capwell, *Armour of the English Knight*, pp. 26–8; Moffat, 'Armourers & Armour'; R. Moffat, 'A "Hard Harnest Man": The Armour of George Dunbar, 9th Earl of March', *Transactions of the East Lothian Antiquarian Society* 13 (2015), pp. 21–37 (pp. 32–4).

[67] *Pilgrimage*, ed. A. Henry, I, p. 59.

[68] *Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*, ed. P. Champion, 4 vols (Paris, 1928), I, p. 27.

[69] de Charny, p. 188.

who, in order to flee all the faster from their enemies, cast it away.[70] Rigorous and constant training from an early age was imperative to survival on the battlefield and to success in the joust and tourney. The master of the young boys brought up in the English royal household in the 1470s was ordered to 'lern them to ride clenly and surely, to drawe them also to justes, to lerne [t]hem were theyre harneys'.[71]

Maréschal Boucicaut's biographer goes into great detail in his description of his subject's formative training regime; this included leaping onto and over horses and onto the shoulders of large men on their mounts, and climbing on the underside of siege ladders.[72] For de Charny, too, running, jumping, casting stones and suchlike exertions were essential.[73] Are these abilities exaggerated by chivalric biographers and armchair chroniclers? Not so. From household accounts it can be shown that the Black Prince was just seven when he received a complete harness of mail and plate. Included in an inventory of the Tower of London Armoury in 1455 is 'a litel harneys that the Erle of Warwyk made for the kynge or that he went ouer the see garnysshede w[i]t[h] gold'.[74] A rare survival is the components of armour for the young Charles VI dedicated to Chartres Cathedral (now in Musée des Beaux Arts, Chartres). The growing body – its musculature and skeleton – was formed by the harness. One Spanish knight slept in his leg harness to force his limbs to grow straight and thin.[75] Control of the breath was extremely important. Duke Philip of Burgundy, in preparation for a duel, had an armour made and trained intensely to strengthen his body and control his breathing ('pour soy mettre en allaine').[76] Causing an opponent to become short of breath was a highly recommended technique for fighting with the pollaxe.[77]

Being in harness for most of their lives, then, was second nature to the chivalrous. So confident were a band of English knights of their victory that, previous to an arranged combat, they gorged themselves at table fully armed save for their helmets whilst their opponents attended mass.[78] A soldier-chronicler from Liège vividly recounts the miserable discomfort of having to sleep in his harness

[70] John Bromyard, *Summa praedicantium* […] (Antwerp, 1614), p. 122.
[71] *The Household of Edward IV*, ed. A. R. Myers (Manchester, 1959), pp. 126–7.
[72] *The Chivalric Biography of Boucicaut*, trans. C. Taylor and J. H. M. Taylor (Woodbridge, 2016), pp. 30–1.
[73] de Charny, pp. 188–9.
[74] TNA, E101/387/25; TNA, C66/480/7.
[75] Cited in N. Fallows, *Jousting in Medieval and Renaissance Iberia* (Woodbridge, 2010), p. 61.
[76] Waurin, *Recueil des croniques*, ed. Hardy, III, p. 190.
[77] Anglo, '*Le Jeu de la Hache*', p. 120.
[78] 'à table armez, fors de leurs bacinets, pour manger et boyr': Anon., 'Relation d'un combat de sept gentilshommes françois contre sept anglois, en 1402', *Bulletin de la société de l'histoire de France*, n. no. (1834), pp. 109–13 (at p. 111).

in anticipation of a night attack and how it offered little protection against the incessant Scottish rain.[79] The aged admiral of France after a life in harness was described by a young Castilian knight as 'broken by the arms, as he had always been in war being a vigorous knight'.[80] For de Charny, chivalry did not end with the feebleness of the body: he stated that, even if the body gives out, it must be the heart and strength of mind ('bonne volenté') that take over.[81]

For a life in harness, the armour had to be properly fitted to ensure freedom of movement. As we have seen, in 1387 a young French duke had a little *pourpoint* sent to 'Allemaigne' for a pair of steel plates (torso defence).[82] A bascinet 'fatto a misura' was ordered by an arms dealer in 1382, and 'harnoiz à mesure' were gifted to soldiers in 1447.[83] The Venetian ambassador to the French court in 1464 observed the Milanese Francesco Missaglia studying the king both night and day in order to craft a harness for this 'persona molto delicata'.[84] Another Milanese based in Bruges reminded an English merchant in a letter that he had previously taken his 'mexure' and asked him what fashion ('le faisson') he desired his 'harnax complet' to be.[85]

Decoration was ubiquitous on fine harness. 'Your armor I have bespoken and taken order for,' an Englishman wrote to his cousin from the capital in 1598. 'I would willinglie know your mynde for the trymynge whether with crymsen velvet and gold lace or with some other cooler.'[86] Edward III's penchant was for torso defences covered in white leather with gilt scallops; not to be outdone, his son the Black Prince gifted armour covered with black velvet and powdered with his personal badge – three feathers. An extra two thousand nails had to be gilded in addition to the thousand already produced for the bishop of Toul's brigandine (flexible torso defence). The armourer to the future Henry IV paid a London armourer for nailing one covered with sumptuous cloth of Cyprian gold.[87]

[79] *The True Chronicles of Jean le Bel, 1290–1360*, trans. N. Bryant (Woodbridge, 2013), pp. 42–8.

[80] G. Díaz de Gámez, *El Victorial: Crónica de Don Pero Niño*, ed. J. Carriazo (Madrid, 1940), p. 134.

[81] de Charny, p. 92.

[82] Moffat, 'Importance of Being Harnest', p. 11.

[83] L. Frangioni, 'Bacinetti e altre difese della testa nella documentazione di una azienda mercantile, 1366–1410', *Archeologia medievale* 11 (1984), pp. 507–22 (p. 509); *Chronique de Mathieu d'Escouchy*, ed. G. du Fresne de Beaucourt, 3 vols (Paris, 1863–64), III, pp. 255–6.

[84] Cited in W. Boeheim, 'Werke Mailänder Waffenschmiede in den Kaiserlichen Sammlungen', *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 9 (1889), pp. 375–418 (at p. 390).

[85] London, British Library, Additional MS 27445, fol. 72r. More examples are to be found in Moffat, 'Armourers & Armour'.

[86] Taunton, Somerset Record Office DD\WO/56/4/38.

[87] 'couert de blanc quir oue scalopes dorez' and 'cou[er]tz de noir veluet pouudrez oue pennes': TNA, E101/338/11; TNA, E36/278. Brussels, Archives du Royaume de Belgique,

It was not only coverings and facings that were luxurious but also the decoration of the plates themselves. A London craftsman was paid in 1372 for arm and leg defences with segments of gilded latten (copper-alloy) soldered on with lead and for gauntlets with gilded knuckles.[88] Parts of a fine fourteenth-century armour and two bascinet visors from the armoury of Churburg castle have decorative latten strips. One lame of a foot defence from an armour once in Chartres Cathedral retains its applied silver-gilt fleur-de-lys. For some commentators all this was too much. A Dominican friar lambasted such vanity in his sermons: 'they have a helmet of gold worth forty pounds', yet 'of what value are arms adorned with gold, then, that only make the enemy bolder', and worst of all 'when in flight from their foes, they fling away, so that they may flee the faster'.[89] Appearance was viewed as a sign of chivalry and *noblesse*. Even the sound the harness made reflected the status of a warrior. According to one Spanish jousting expert it was important that the various components of the harness 'do not clatter or catch on each other', for 'it tarnishes a jouster's image if his armour clangs like kettles each time he moves!'[90] The wealthy overcame such problems by ordering the insides of their harness ('par dedens') to be lined with luxurious materials such as black satin.[91] Not only would this look dashing, it would also ensure the smooth and silent movement of the plates over each other and the arming doublet beneath.

Harness meant a great deal more to the chivalrous warrior than merely a protection for the body. He would be well inculcated in the symbolic significance of every single component. Indeed, this aspect ran through a clerical and secular tradition stemming from the Vulgate Bible with St Paul's sixth Letter to the Ephesians (vv. 11–17) on the 'Armour of God', *armaturam Dei*, through the poetry of Nicolas Bozon and Hue de Tabarie's *L'Ordène de chevalerie*, to the aforementioned Llull and de Charny. From Old French romances such as *Lancelot do lac* of the early thirteenth century to later medieval literature such as Chaucer's Sir Thopas and *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, elaborate metaphorical arming scenes were embedded in the imagination of the warrior.[92]

Chambre de comptes 46397, fol. 8r; TNA, DL28/1. For a detailed study of the brigandine see I. Eaves, 'The Remains of a Jack of Plate from Beeston Castle, Cheshire', *Journal of the Arms & Armour Society* 13 (1989), pp. 81–154.

[88] 'plumtez cu' swages de laton' deaurat'' and gauntlets 'cu' knokels deaurat'': TNA, E101/397/10.

[89] Bromyard, *Summa praedicantium*, p. 122.

[90] L. Zapata de Chaves, *Del Justador* (1589–93), ed. and trans. in Fallows, *Jousting in Iberia*, p. 388.

[91] Moffat, 'Armourers & Armour', pp. 50–1.

[92] See R. W. Jones, '"þen hentes he þe healme, & hastily hit kisses": The Symbolic Significance of Donning Armour in Medieval Romance', in *Battle and Bloodshed: The Medieval World at War*, ed. L. Bleach and K. Borrill (Newcastle, 2013), pp. 39–56.

Like a holy relic, the chivalric prowess of the owner was passed down through the generations. Chivalric fiction and actuality are blended in the effects of noble families. The De Bohuns claimed descent from the conqueror of Jerusalem, Godfrey of Bouillon, who was in turn believed to be descended from the Swan Knight of Arthurian lore. Godfrey's haubergeon ('hauberioun qe est apele Bolioun') was in the family's possession and the swan established as their badge.[93] For the earls of Warwick, their forefather was the eponymous Guy of Warwick. Thomas, the eleventh earl, bequeathed 'lespe [sword] de Gy de Warrewyk & le hauberk' to his son who, in turn, refers to 'lespee & hauberc q*ue* feurent iadys a luy noble chiualer Guy de Warrewyk' in his own will.[94] A black-velvet-covered brigandine of that paragon of chivalry of the wars in France Lord Talbot was to be found in a château in 1499.[95] These were also objects which brought a physical and emotional link to the past. Eleanor, duchess of Gloucester, bequeathed to her son a haubergeon decorated with a cross of mercy over the heart to bring him closer to his murdered father.[96]

Reliable harness emboldened the chivalrous fighter. The master of the Tower Armoury in 1590, after testing breastplates with a pistol, declared it a truism that 'good armour demynishethe not the bowldnesse of a man', concluding that it 'is better to have an armore of evill shape and good mettell than of good shape and evill mettell'.[97] A Scottish herald, in his translation of the influential Roman military writer Vegetius, states that the 'glittering of cleir geir & harnies giffis allwayis terror to þair Innemies', and that on the other hand the 'rowst & filtht of the harnes schawis al way[s] the sweirnes [laziness] & inabilite of thaim that beris it'.[98] The man responsible for the care of Edward of Caernarfon's armour used white shammies to polish his hauberks.[99] Polished surfaces also had the practical advantage that arrowheads and blades were less lightly to catch and cause injury. There were exceptions to the rule of spotless armour. In certain contexts a patina was a visible sign of chivalrous activity. The heat of the Holy Land causing sweat and dust to accumulate on the simple armour of the Knights

[93] The will of Humphrey de Bohun of 1319 includes decorations 'poudre [de] Cynes blanches'; the haubergeon is listed in an inventory of 1322: TNA, DL27/14 and DL25/29.

[94] London, Lambeth Palace Library, Reg. Archbp Wittlesey, fol. 110r; Reg. Archbp Arundel, fol. 179v.

[95] A. Le Roux de Lincy, 'Inventaire des vieilles armes conservés au château d'Amboise du temps de Louis XII (Septembre 1499)', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 4 (1847–48), pp. 412–22 (at p. 422).

[96] 'vn habergeon' oue vn Crois de laton m[er]chie sur le pis encontre le cuer quele feust a mon s[eigneu]r son piere': London, Lambeth Palace Library, Reg. Archbp Arundel, fol. 163r.

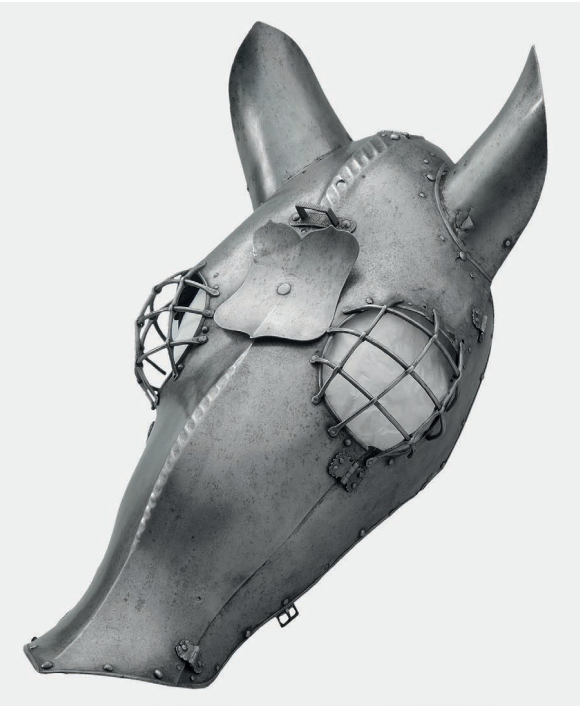
[97] Dillon, 'Letter of Sir Henry Lee', p. 171.

[98] Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Advocate's Manuscript 31.3.20, fol. 81r.

[99] 'fraer' de corio albo p[ro] loriciis': TNA, E101/363/18.

Templar is one example. The garment borne over Chaucer's Knight's armour is 'bismotered' by rust, dirt and grease as a proud badge of a lifetime fighting in foreign lands against the foes of Christianity.[100]

Horse Armour



8 Shaffron, *c.* 1505

Mounted combat was a key feature of the age of chivalry and beyond. For practical fighting men the simple advice was to (unchivalrously) kill the mount in battle.[101] For as long as mail armour had been in use it was possible to offer the warhorse the same protection as its rider. The ubiquitous horse covers ('cooperturas') demanded for knight service in the English realm were of mail.[102] Little

[100] *The French Text of the Rule of the Order of the Knights Templar*, ed. J. M. Upton-Ward (Woodbridge, 1992), p. 53; W. D. Stevens, 'The "Gipoun" of Chaucer's Knight', *Modern Language Notes* 18 (1903), pp. 140–1.

[101] Anglo, *Martial Arts*, p. 236.

[102] S. W. Pyhrr *et al.*, *The Armored Horse in Europe, 1480–1620* (New York, 2005), for an overview.

survives of steel plate horse armour before the mid fifteenth century, from when we have, for example, the Milanese horse bard of *c*. 1450 in the Vienna Museum. It is clear that developments were well underway before this. The French hired Milanese cavalry with heavily armoured horses in the 1420s to counter the vicious shot of English archers.[103] A steel horse's head defence of the late fourteenth century – the Warwick shaffron – is in the care of the Royal Armouries. Earlier in the century an English earl, in his will of 1347, bequeathed the 'burnished covers of plate which are for my destrier' ('le cou[er]turs burnitz de plate q' sount p[u]r mon destrer'). 'Burnished' is a word restricted solely to the use of plate armour in the practical terminology used by, for example, the compilers of inventories.[104]

Shield

The large shield covering much of the body as seen in such images as the embroidery at Bayeux and the Temple Pyx [fig. 9] began to shrink in size as armour provided more protection for the body. One writer of the early fourteenth century tells us that 'the shield is rarely carried in battle as it impedes more than it aids'.[105] Its use continued off the battlefield for heraldic and chivalric purposes, a remarkable survival being the one displayed over the tomb of the Black Prince at Canterbury Cathedral. Shields of varying colours depending on the nature of fighting – lance, sword, axe – continued in use into later centuries for elaborate chivalric combats known as *pas d'armes*, clearly influenced by the Arthurian traditions. The manner of their construction (wood, steel, leather etc.) was strictly regulated in events of this type.[106]

Jousts and Tournaments

Although they were rated below the crusade abroad and just war by de Charny and others in the context of chivalric behaviour, jousts and tournaments were still important and very popular. The ever-changing nature of these events,

[103] M. K. Jones, 'The Battle of Verneuil (17 August 1424)', *War in History* 9 (2002), pp. 375–411 (at pp. 390–2).

[104] York, Borthwick Institute, Abp Reg. 10, fol. 316v.

[105] 'scutu' raro p[or]tat' ad bellu' q' impediret plus quam p[ro]moueret': Moffat, '*Manner of Arming*', p. 6.

[106] Leeds, Royal Armouries Library MS .0035(I.35), fols 25r–26r, ed. and trans. R. Moffat, 'The Medieval Tournament: An Edition and Analysis of Three 15th-Century Tournament Manuscripts' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Leeds, 2010), p. 272. http://etheses.whiterose.ac.uk/1430/1/Ralph_Moffat_PhD_2010.pdf (accessed 7/10/18).

9 Copper-alloy pyx (the 'Temple Pyx'), twelfth century

their regulations and their rules makes the task of outlining the development of equipment akin to tilting at windmills. It too is bedevilled by the lack of surviving objects. There are clues such as references to hauberks for the tourney with thicker links and an increasing use of substances such as baleen for weapons and armour parts.[107] Thrusting with a sword should only be done in war according to de Charny.[108] Some insight into the variety of gear available to participants is given by an English statute of 1292 confining sons of great lords to leg and shoulder defences and bascinets.[109] The statute also strictly prohibits swords for thrusting. An ordinance of 1304 ruling that the armourers, heaumers (helm makers) and haubergers (mail makers) of London should rent out their gear to knights and squires at a reasonable price reveals profiteering by craftsmen due to high demand.[110]

Unless one wanted to end up with the unsightly nose, as one English nobleman puts it, of a man who frequents tourneys, suitable protection was essential.[111] A young king was advised as a rule to avoid jousting. However, if there was some great ceremony or visiting dignitary at least 150 lances were to be broken 'pour la compaignie honourer'.[112] The principal aim of the individual joust was to shatter a solid wooden lance off the head or body of an opponent. It had to be done with such force that the lance broke at a certain part of its length – as though it had penetrated the body and caused serious injury or death.[113] To prevent such injuries occurring increasingly specialist equipment had to be developed.

At the same time as Edward III was holding his Arthurian 'round tables', newly developed equipment was in evidence. The principal design was reinforcement at vulnerable parts where the lance was directed. Thus there were payments made for 'poitrines' (in English: breastplates) to attach over the pairs of plates beneath and 'pieces' for helms – thick steel sheets over the face.[114] With the elaborate proliferation of the joust, tournament and *pas d'armes* of later centuries we are fortunate to have a great deal more surviving material culture on which to base detailed study and even the jousting treatises of experts are available to us.[115]

[107] Moffat, '*Manner of Arming*', pp. 14–15; Moffat and Spriggs, 'Use of Baleen', p. 212.
[108] de Charny, p. 88.
[109] London, British Library, MS Harley 748, fols 112v–113r; Moffat, 'The Medieval Tournament', pp. 54–60.
[110] Cambridge, Gonville & Caius College Library MS 424/448.
[111] 'come un homme qe va moelt a ces turnois plus y piert au nees': Henry of Lancaster, *Le Livre de Seyntz Medicines*, ed. E. J. Arnould (Oxford, 1940), p. 138.
[112] de Mézières, *Le Songe du Vieil Pelerin*, II, p. 212.
[113] Moffat, 'The Medieval Tournament', pp. 61–2. Just such a 'forceful attaint' is pictured in a fourteenth-century ivory mirror case [fig. 10].
[114] TNA, E101/338/11. Most studies draw on Blair, *European Armour*, pp. 156–69.
[115] Anglo, *Martial Arts*, pp. 230–40; Fallows, *Jousting in Iberia*, passim; T. Capwell, *Arms and Armour of the Medieval Joust* (Leeds, 2018).

10 Ivory mirror case depicting a lance blow to the helm, fourteenth century

Throughout the period of its use there was harness available to those outwith the charmed circle of the chivalrous. Steel plates were either polished to a mirror finish (by diligent squires and keepers of armour) or left black from the hammer. Thus we find reference to white and black harness: an English testator differentiates between pairs of plates 'albis' and 'nigris' in 1415.[116] Of the twelve helmets ('salad' nigr'') imported into Southwark in 1449 only one 'nigr' salet'' was accounted for in 1454.[117] That unscrupulous men were importing poor-quality bascinets and selling them covered with fabric was to the 'vileyn esclaundre' of the London armourers in 1322.[118] Of two Scots in French service in 1447 one

[116] Nottingham University Library, Middleton MSS Mi F 6/9.
[117] TNA, E122/73/23; London Metropolitan Archives, Plea and Memoranda Roll A80, m. 4.
[118] London Metropolitan Archives, Letter-Book E, fol. 133r.

received 'une brigandine dorée [gilded]' whilst the archer had to make do with 'une brigandine commune'.[119] Neglect and poor upkeep, as stated by the translator of Vegetius above, reflected poorly on the warrior. One knight advised a long truce be signed 'Swa that thair [enemy's] armyng sall worth ald. And sall be rottyn, distroyit, or sald'.[120] We find 'old round bascinets' ('vailles rounde bacynetz') in an inventory of 1397 and 'white harneys of old facion' in another of 1462.[121]

A flourishing trade in armour, dominated by networks of merchants from the Italian city states, expanded its tentacles across Europe. A Genoese carrack landed at Sandwich in 1463 with a cargo of sixty-nine bales of 'harnes*ses* with curas*se* complete' and 109 'peirs cu*m* iiij curas*se* broken' worth less than £300.[122] An inventory of the stock of a German armourer based in Southwark, made in the following year, lists various pieces of old and low-value armour. A London merchant in 1459 swapped twenty-nine 'harneys of milen touche' for as many butts of cheap red wine.[123] It has been calculated that in fifteenth-century England a good harness cost five to fourteen times the price of the gear for an archer.[124] At the same time as Caxton and Malory were craving the chivalric days of yore, knights 'in shining armour' were being kitted out in mass-produced harness. Simply owning such equipment, however, did not mean automatic admission to the ranks of the chivalrous. The pawn is bitingly reminded in an allegorical game of chess that: 'For land, for gud, for hors, for harnas bricht, He has nocht bot ane schawdow of ane knycht.'[125]

For the chivalrous the nadir was the loss or sale of their harness. A soldier resorted to pawning his ('engagea ses armures') for a cash loan from a Lucchese bank in Newcastle and was able to redeem it at their branch in Dublin.[126] The enemies of a wealthy French merchant accused him of the extremely heinous crime of having sent a complete harness as a template for the craftsmen of the Sultan ('Soudlain des Sarrazins').[127] It tells of the chivalric esteem in which the Scottish earl of March was held that his agents were able to purchase armour for him in London, even though at the time he was successfully wresting his

[119] *Chronique d'Escouchy*, ed. de Beaucourt, III, p. 256.
[120] *Barbour's* Bruce, ed. A. A. M. Duncan (Edinburgh, 1997), p. 347.
[121] TNA, E163/6/13; London, British Library, Additional MS 4679, fol. 27r.
[122] TNA, E122/128/1.
[123] London Metropolitan Archives, Plea and Memoranda Roll A80, m. 4; Plea and Memoranda Roll A60, m. 6.
[124] J. E. Wiedemer, 'Arms and Armor in England, 1450–70: Cost and Distribution' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1967), p. 51.
[125] *The Buke of Chess*, ed. C. van Buuren (Edinburgh, 1997), p. 38.
[126] TNA, SC8/329?E905.
[127] *Les affaires de Jacques Coeur*, ed. M. Mollat, 2 vols (Paris, 1952–53), I, p. 7; H. A. Dillon, 'Arms and Armour Abroad', *Archaeological Journal* 62 (1905), pp. 67–72 (at p. 67).

ancestral lands from English control.[128] Sale could, however, be for a worthy cause. At Acre in 1267 an English knight instructed in his will that his horses and armour be sold to sustain the host 'en cu[n]tre le enemis i[es]hu c[hri]st'.[129]

In chivalrous combat there was no place for devious tricks of evil intention ('mal engyn'). Thus the use of magical powders, spells and charms was out.[130] More practically, fourteen combatants competing against each other in 1402 swore they had no barbed blades or hooks of iron or steel.[131] For one observer a horse bard with great steel spikes was simply not acceptable for a chivalric combat before the duke of Burgundy.[132] Again, the rules were not hard and fast. Parts of the harness could be offensive as well as defensive – an English observer in 1350 notes the use of the term 'gadlings' to describe the spikes on the knuckles of gauntlets used to injure the face of one combatant.[133]

To be a true and lifelong upholder of the order of chivalry more was needed than simply owning equipment. As we have seen, it had to be part of one's life from a young age. Training and familiarity were key – and fighting skills honed through the years. A Spanish knight with a battle-scarred ('hewyn') face enquired of his fellow crusader Sir James Douglas that as such a worthy knight renowned throughout Christendom, how 'never a hurt tharin had he'. Sir James responded 'mekly': 'Love God, all tym had I Handis my hed for to wer [protect]'.[134] There was also a need to know that one was not invincible and to understand the limitations of harness. For example, an account of the death of the Grand Master of the Templars at the siege of Acre tells us that a crossbow bolt entered at the armpit where the plates did not join, plunging a palm's length into his body. A seasoned warrior, accepting that his armour had failed him, the master cried out to his brothers-in-arms: 'Seigneurs, I can do no more for I am dead – see the blow!'[135]

When all this has been said, however, one arming treatise tells us that it was not hard steel that best protected the knight but a chemise that had come into contact with a holy relic at Chartres Cathedral – the *sancta camisia* – which was doubly sacred as it had been worn by the Virgin when giving birth to the Christ

[128] London Metropolitan Archives, Letter-Book H, fol. 39r; Moffat; 'A "Hard Harnest Man"', pp. 21–37 (at p. 22).

[129] TNA, DL25/177. Hedging his bets, he also set aside a sum lest he fall into 'le meins de sarazins'.

[130] Moffat, 'The Medieval Tournament', pp. 45–7.

[131] 'fers barbellez' or 'croqs de fer ne dasier': Glasgow Museums, RL Scott Library, MS E.1939.65.2198, fol. 26r.

[132] La Marche, *Mémoires*, ed. Beaune and d'Arbaumont, IX, pp. 420–1.

[133] *Chronicon Galfridi le Baker de Swynebroke*, ed. E. M. Thompson (Oxford, 1889), p. 133.

[134] Barbour's *Bruce*, ed. Duncan, p. 761.

[135] 'Seignors je ne peus plus car je suy mort; vees le cop': *Les gestes de Chiprois: Recueil des chroniques française* [...], ed. G. Raynaud (Geneva, 1887), p. 28. The author extends his thanks to Mr R. C. Woosnam-Savage for sharing this fascinating passage.

Child and thus had come into contact with both.[136] The chivalrous were fully aware that their armour and weapons were, in the wider context of war and crusade, merely pieces of lifeless metal – an empty shell. Good conduct was paramount. For de Charny, it was the *travailles* both in armour and without ('tant en l'armeure comme dehors') that would garner praise and honour.[137] Sir Gilbert Hay is adamant that: 'a knycht suld nocht all traist jn his armoure na wapnis bot jn his awin vertu'.[138]

[136] Moffat '*Manner of Arming*', pp. 8–11.
[137] de Charny, p. 190.
[138] Sir Gilbert Hay, *The buke of the ordre of knychthede*, ed. J. H. Stevenson (Edinburgh, 1901–14), p. 36.

10

Constructing Chivalric Landscapes: Aristocratic Spaces Between Image and Reality

OLIVER CREIGHTON

The phrase 'chivalric landscape' most readily evokes an imaginary literary setting from the milieu of medieval romance – the domain of the questing hero in which wild and wooded places inhabited by fantastic creatures contrast with the cultured courtly surroundings of the castle or palace. This chapter considers the growing contribution of landscape studies to our understanding of chivalry by exploring the reality of these sorts of settings on the ground. Drawing upon the evidence of archaeology, documents and the landscape itself, it focuses on the contrived environments of castles and palaces between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries, mainly in medieval Britain but understood within its wider European context. Many different features within the medieval countryside could be imbued with chivalric meaning, some much more obviously than others, so the 'chivalric landscape' could embrace a multitude of sites, spaces and places, including hunting and pleasure grounds as well as venues for martial performance and action in the form of tournament sites and battlefields. This chapter considers these environments as backdrops for chivalric deeds and events but also in terms of how they were embedded within working landscapes and how they affected human behaviour. This last point is particularly crucial: elite landscapes were in one sense reflections of chivalric culture; but, equally, they were instrumental in its negotiation, development, perpetuation and emulation and need to be studied as such. The same is just as true of landscapes as it is of chivalric texts (see Bellis, this volume); they were not only mirrors to the medieval world but also active in shaping cultural outlooks.[1]

Beyond the walls of the fortress or palace, carefully crafted landscapes incorporating spaces reserved for pleasure, leisure and love were theatres for the noble lifestyle in which chivalric imagery and allusions could play a major part. The most prominent of these were areas dedicated to hunting and sport, especially

[1] C. Taylor, *Chivalry and the Ideals of Knighthood in France during the Hundred Years War* (Cambridge, 2013), p. 8.

in the form of enclosed deer parks or open forests and chases, and, usually closer to the residence and sometimes contained within it, gardens. We should also not neglect the role of water in shaping many elite settings and in conditioning how people moved in and around them and experienced castles and great houses. For example, water-filled moats frequently dictated how a residence was approached, accessed and viewed, while artificial ponds sometimes flanked approach routes. A further hallmark of these aristocratic environments is that they could host certain types of flora and fauna carrying chivalric connotations of their own – whether animals closely associated with elite sport or consumption, such as deer, swans, rabbits and doves, or particular species within the castle garden redolent with symbolism, such as the vine.

Our understanding of the physical dimension to, and the material evidence for, these chivalric landscapes has developed only recently, however, and is desperately retarded compared to literary perspectives on the subject. The concept of the 'chivalric landscape' is also not without its conceptual problems – not least the fact that we are dealing with landscapes constructed to echo a social code that was itself a construct – and, accordingly, the appropriateness of the term is critically unpicked further below. The student or researcher will scour the indexes of standard works on medieval landscapes in vain for the word 'chivalry', and the reverse is true of books on chivalric culture. Instead, the bulk of scholarship concerned with chivalry in the medieval landscape has focused on the invented countryside of contemporary literature. Thomas Malory's romance landscapes and what they tell us about fifteenth-century knighthood have received close scrutiny, for example.[2] To move towards a deeper understanding of what chivalric landscapes looked like, when and why they were constructed, and what they meant to different individuals and audiences, we must come more closely to grips with the relationship between landscapes of fantasy and actuality – to engage with the 'conceptual space between real and ideal' that is central to the understanding of chivalry itself.[3] This relationship between 'actual' and 'imagined' chivalric landscape was complex, reflexive and constantly evolving. Moreover, to draw a hard and fast line between the two is artificial and would have been alien to medieval minds. On the one hand, medieval authors and poets and the artists behind manuscript illustrations, tapestries and wall paintings clearly drew on experiences, accounts and representations of real-life places when 'inventing' fantasy landscapes, but, on the other hand, so too did the builders and creators of elite buildings and their settings harness, reference and recycle a similar repertoire of imagery.

[2] See, for example, H. Kim, *The Knight without the Sword: A Social Landscape of Malorian Chivalry* (Cambridge, 2000).

[3] M. Johnson, *Behind the Castle Gate: From Medieval to Renaissance* (London, 2002), p. 31.

The following account explores these themes in three sections. The first introduces and critiques the notion of the 'chivalric landscape' as it applies to the medieval estate. The second focuses in on the central place of the castle in the chivalric landscape and considers the distinctive roles of gardens and hunting grounds as elite spaces. A third strand examines the settings of tournaments. Finally, a conclusion emphasises the need for future studies of chivalry to take greater account of its underestimated landscape context.

Landscapes of Production and Display

It is well established that the designed settings of great country houses in the early modern period – sometimes styled 'polite landscapes' – encoded the social values of the contemporary social elite.[4] If the concept of a medieval 'chivalric landscape' has any validity then it assumes that the same could be broadly true in the middle ages. The notion that the environments around medieval noble residences could be 'designed' not only for reasons of pleasure and leisure but also to enhance exclusivity and to express wealth, power and cultural sophistication has been gaining ground since the early 1990s.[5] Driven by the discovery and detailed recording of new evidence in the environs of elite sites, primarily through topographical survey, archaeologists and landscape historians have pushed forward our understanding of both the components of these aristocratic landscapes – most prominently parks, pleasure grounds and water features, but also productive features of the estate that were synonymous with lordship, such as fishponds, dovecotes and rabbit warrens – and how they articulated together to form contrived environments. While the settings around great castles were an early focus of work,[6] our understanding of medieval designed landscapes now extends to the environs of palaces, mansion-houses and residences of the gentry, and moated sites.[7] Further, while several seminal case studies date broadly to

[4] T. Williamson, *Polite Landscapes: Gardens and Society in Eighteenth-Century England* (Stroud, 1999).

[5] M. Leslie, 'An English Landscape Garden before "the English Landscape Garden"?', *Journal of Garden History* 13 (1993), pp. 3–15; for an overview see O. H. Creighton, *Designs upon the Land: Elite Landscapes of the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 2009).

[6] The early touchstone site is Bodiam castle, East Sussex, which has an extensive historiography (see also notes 24–25 below), but see in particular C. C. Taylor, P. Everson and R. Wilson-North, 'Bodiam Castle, Sussex', *Medieval Archaeology* 34 (1990), pp. 155–57; P. Everson, 'Bodiam Castle, East Sussex: A Fourteenth-century Designed Landscape', in *'The Remains of Distant Times': Archaeology and the National Trust*, ed. D. Morgan Evans, P. Salway and D. Thackray (London, 1996), pp. 66–72; P. Everson, 'Bodiam Castle, East Sussex: Castle and Designed Landscape', *Château Gaillard* 16 (1996), pp. 70–84.

[7] See, for example, C. C. Taylor, 'Medieval Ornamental Landscapes', *Landscapes* 1.1 (2000), pp. 38–55; P. Everson, '"Delightfully surrounded with woods and ponds": Field Evidence

1 Bodiam castle, Sussex

the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries – the endlessly cited 'type-site' being the watery setting of Bodiam castle in East Sussex (*c.* 1385) [fig. 1][8] – it now seems clear that the essential repertoire of the 'landscape of lordship' was firmly in existence in the Norman period.[9]

One prominent research question concerns how the scale and sophistication of these designed settings grew through the middle ages, although dating phases of landscape reorganisation with any level of precision remains a perennial issue. We are also increasingly aware of the variety and geographical spread of medieval designed landscapes. The phenomenon arguably extended to Ireland,[10] and to

for Medieval Gardens in England', in *There by Design: Field Archaeology in Parks and Gardens*, ed. P. Pattison (Oxford, 1998), pp. 32–8; P. Everson, 'Medieval Gardens and Designed Landscapes', in *The Lie of the Land: Aspects of the Archaeology and History of the Designed Landscape in the South West of England*, ed. R. Wilson-North (Exeter, 2003), pp. 24–33; for the wider European context, see in particular M. Hansson, *Aristocratic Landscape: The Spatial Ideology of the Medieval Aristocracy* (Stockholm, 2006).

[8] See notes 6 and 24–25.

[9] The key work is R. Liddiard, *'Landscapes of Lordship': Norman Castles and the Countryside in Medieval Norfolk, 1066–1200* (Oxford, 2000); for discussion, see Creighton, *Designs upon the Land*, pp. 214–15.

[10] T. O'Keeffe, 'Were there Designed Landscapes in Medieval Ireland?', *Landscapes* 5.2 (2004), pp. 52–68.

Wales, even before the Edwardian conquest.[11] In north Wales, Owain Glyndŵr's residences at Sycharth and Glyndyfrdwy were embedded within settings that compared to those of neighbouring English lords; the former is especially relevant in this context as it was the subject of a late-fourteenth-century bardic poem by Iolo Goch that presents an idealised image of a well-ordered demesne landscape punctuated by orchards, vineyards and ponds and populated by rabbits and peacocks.[12] This notion that the surroundings of a noble residence imitated an ideal – that there existed a deeply rooted sense of how such an environment *should* appear and what sorts of elements it *should* contain – is absolutely central to the notion of a chivalric landscape.[13]

On a wider canvas, European courtly culture provided a hotbed for competitive emulation through which ideas about noble landscapes developed rapidly and both spread geographically and percolated through the ranks of the aristocracy. Yet we should also remember that another unifying aspect of aristocratic culture was that 'chivalry was *always* perceived to be from a "medieval past"', and consider ways that references to myth, legend and ancient times were embedded within these landscapes.[14] A further research direction is the study of movement through these environments and how it created particular sensory experiences that magnified the impression of grandeur for observers. Famously, in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, it is the knight's approach to Bertilak's castle through a forest and his first view of it through the ancient boughs – surmounting a plateau, surrounded by a moat, and secluded within a park – that create the indelible impression of 'an island of civilized gentility in the wilderness'.[15] Water features had a special capacity to condition sensory experiences of noble architecture. The exemplar is Kenilworth, Warwickshire, where splendidly appointed window seats in the elevated hall commanded exclusive views over an artificial lake (the 'Great Mere') that comprises the largest and most elaborate watery

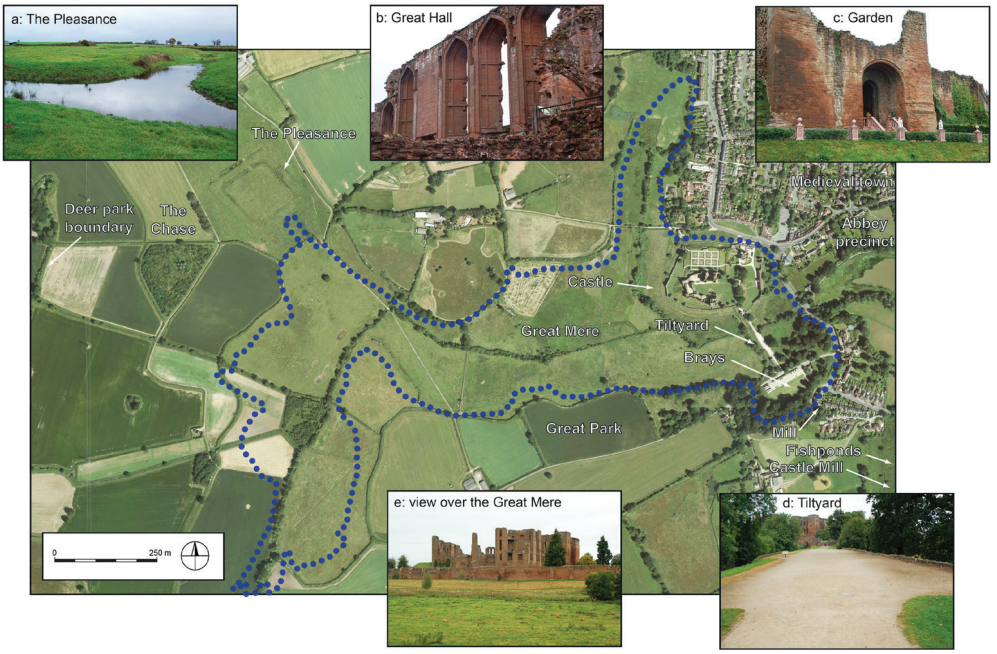
[11] S. G. Smith, 'Parks and Designed Landscapes in Medieval Wales', in *Deer and People*, ed. K. Baker, R. Carden and R. Madgwick (Oxford, 2014), pp. 231–9.

[12] J. Wiley, 'Owain Glyndŵr's Peacocks: Fourteenth-century Designed Landscapes at Sycharth and Glyndyfrdwy', *Landscapes* 17:1 (2016), pp. 23–44.

[13] See R. Liddiard, 'Reconstructing Wingfield Castle', in *Wingfield College and its Patrons: Piety and Prestige in Medieval Suffolk*, ed. P. Bloore and E. Martin (Woodbridge, 2015), pp. 77–95.

[14] K. Stevenson and B. Gribling, eds, *Chivalry and the Medieval Past* (Woodbridge, 2016), pp. 3–4.

[15] A. King, 'The Castle in Medieval England: Aesthetics, Symbolism and Status', in *Capture the Castle: British Artists and the Castle from Turner to Le Brun* (Southampton, 2017), p. 23; for discussion of the possible site of the castle and its landscape, see M. W. Thompson, 'The Green Knight's Castle', in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to R. A. Brown*, ed. C. Harper-Bill, C. Holdsworth and J. L. Nelson (Woodbridge, 1989), pp. 317–25; R. Elliott, 'Landscape and Geography', in *A Companion to the Gawain-Poet*, ed. D. Brewer and J. Gibson (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 105–17.



2 The landscape around Kenilworth castle, Warwickshire, highlighting medieval features

setting of any site in medieval Britain [fig. 2].[16] Through investigative archaeological survey we now have empirical evidence that highlights the nuances to a landscape that by the later medieval period included a spectacular moated banqueting pavilion on the opposite side of the great artificial mere to the castle.[17] The phenomenon of moated sites shows that ideas about enhancing exclusivity with surrounding water features trickled down to the gentry classes.[18]

Applying the 'designed landscape' idea to the middle ages is not without its problems, however. Robert Liddiard and Tom Williamson have critiqued the notion of an aesthetic tradition of medieval landscape design, arguing this draws on post-medieval parallels inappropriate for the middle ages.[19] Distinctively medi-

[16] Creighton, *Designs upon the Land*, p. 79.

[17] E. Jamieson and R. Lane, 'Monuments, Mobility and Medieval Perceptions of Designed Landscapes: The Pleasance, Kenilworth', *Medieval Archaeology* 59 (2015), pp. 255–71.

[18] E. D. Johnson, 'Moated Sites and the Production of Authority in the Eastern Weald of England', *Medieval Archaeology* 59 (2015), pp. 233–54; E. D. Johnson, 'Moated Sites in the Wealden Landscape', in *Lived Experience in the Later Middle Ages: Studies of Bodiam and Other Elite Landscapes in South-Eastern England*, ed. M. Johnson (Oxford, 2016), pp. 158–70.

[19] R. Liddiard and T. Williamson, 'There by Design? Some Reflections on Medieval Elite Landscapes', *The Archaeological Journal* 165 (2008), pp. 520–35; see also R. Liddiard,

eval 'ways of seeing' meant that contemporaries did not experience and appreciate landscapes with the detachment and perspective afforded to early modern observers. Medieval individuals and groups engaged with landscapes within the context of an essentially pre-cartographic culture. The arrangements of parks and gardens around castles described below could not be appreciated simultaneously, as they can be in some of the maps and plans accompanying the chapter, but as a sequence of experiences, which makes the notion of movement between landscape types of different texture, often nested one inside the other, especially relevant here. This view does not, however, question the fact that arrangements of landscape features within medieval estates advertised status and, crucially, that these environments could be loaded with symbolism and metaphorical meaning, of which chivalry was a particularly important component.

There exists, however, a further set of complex conceptual challenges in defining the chivalric landscape. Foremost of these is the fact that because the cultural code of chivalry is so difficult to define, being ever-changing and adaptable, we can expect to find no easy correspondence between its development and that of elite landscapes. Rather, chivalry must be seen as one ingredient within a rich and complex mix of motivations and influences in traditions of medieval landscape design, but which reached an apogee of importance in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Also, while it is quite clear that the landscapes considered in this chapter were expressions of aristocratic culture in a generalised way, a more pertinent question is whether they embodied and proclaimed more specific chivalric values, such as prowess, courtesy, discipline, largesse and morality. On the one hand, not all the qualities and attitudes associated with chivalry necessarily found direct expression in the physical, material world, and even where they did, the remains were often transitory, not permanent, as the section of this chapter dealing with tournament sites makes very clear. On the other hand, we also have to be cautious as so diverse was the array of values that different medieval writers associated with chivalric culture, and so varied were these between different contexts in time and space, that it can become possible to see chivalric expression in the medieval landscape wherever we look.[20] To give one example: it has been long appreciated that watermills were key tools of medieval lordship, with seigneurial control over milling often obliging tenants to make regular use of the lord's mill.[21] Accordingly, some archaeologists have

'Medieval Designed Landscapes: Problems and Possibilities', in *Medieval Landscapes: Landscape History after Hoskins*, II, ed. M. Gardiner and S. Rippon (Bollington, 2007), pp. 201–14.

[20] See Coss, this volume.

[21] J. Langdon, *Mills in the Medieval Economy: England 1300–1540* (Oxford, 2004); A. Lucas, *Ecclesiastical Lordship, Seigneurial Power and the Commercialisation of Milling in England* (London, 2014).

seen mills as tools of social control.[22] But from another perspective, might mills have symbolised lordly benevolence and paternalism, which were key tenets of the chivalric ethos, with the regular daily concourse of peasants at the seigneurial facility painting an idealised image of a well-ordered estate? Nowhere was this more obvious than where watermills stood adjacent to castles, fed from the same sources that supplied moats and fishponds, or where manorial mills were set within castle parks, as at Launceston in Cornwall and Warkworth in Northumberland, for example.

Another underlying issue is that while we may readily style these sorts of settings as chivalric landscapes, we also need to remember that they would have only had status as such for a tiny elite within contemporary society. While from one perspective features such as parks and gardens could be signposts in the chivalric landscape resonating with meaning and metaphor, we can also question how widely such connotations were understood and appreciated. Different people would have seen the 'chivalric landscape' differently, depending on rank, gender and stage in the life course, and the full array of symbolism would have been apparent to comparatively few. Many of the landscape features discussed here were simultaneously productive features of rural estates around which members of the wider community moved and worked, so any sharp distinction between the elite and vernacular spheres of the medieval landscape is to some extent artificial. In reality the hunting spaces celebrated in romance literature where knights met challenges and confronted magical beasts were not hermetically sealed preserves of the social elite; peasants had rights to graze their pigs and to gather their firewood in parks, chases and forests, for example, while the castles to which hunting parties returned were also bustling estate centres, even working farms, and the venues for courts. A prominent example from the world of medieval art that brings this issue into focus is the miniature for September in the *Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry*. Immediately beneath the towering castle of Saumur, in the middle-ground, is an empty jousting list, foregrounded by an orderly but busy scene of peasants gathering the wine harvest and an ox-drawn cart transporting the crop to the winepress.[23]

By way of comparison, at Bodiam castle, East Sussex, a comprehensive programme of topographical and geophysical survey of the castle's surroundings, supplemented with a new structural survey of the building and palaeoenvironmental sampling, has deepened our understanding of the quintessential

[22] T. Saunders, 'The Feudal Construction of Space: Power and Domination in the Nucleated Village', in *The Social Archaeology of Houses*, ed. R. Sampson (Edinburgh, 1990), pp. 187–8.

[23] R. Cazelles and J. Rathofer, *Illuminations of Heaven and Earth: The Glories of the Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry* (New York, 1988), p. 46.

3 A jousting paddock (or 'tiltyard') nestled beneath the walls of a castle, in the miniature for September in the *Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry*

medieval designed landscape.[24] This work provides a salutary reminder that the area around Bodiam was always a 'landscape of labour, movement, travel, commerce and industry', with the castle as much bypassed by flows of human activity as seeming like the centrepiece of a coherent piece of landscape design.[25]

Also of great significance to the makeup of the chivalric landscape are types of productive facility on medieval estates that represent a halfway-house between farming and hunting – what have been styled for the post-medieval period as forms of 'intermediate exploitation'.[26] Artificial warrens for rabbits were characteristically located prominently on hilltops, sometimes within or just outside parks, and the species carried connotations of paternalism.[27] Dovecotes were more or less universal features of the demesne, often adjacent to gateways marking the point of entry into the seigneurial sphere, and the species had religious associations.[28] The great Norman donjon at Rochester had a dovecote incorporated into its upper level, for example. A less obvious case in point is the medieval swannery, usually built (like the less common heronry) on artificial islands within ponds, meres and moats. Especially heavily consumed on the aristocratic table between the mid twelfth and mid fourteenth centuries, the species carried especially high-status associations, being the most important heraldic bird symbol and echoing the Swan Knight of medieval romances.[29] Kenilworth castle, Warwickshire, set within a vast artificial lake, possessed a 'Swan Tower' (or Swan's Nest Tower). All these installations produced characteristically aristocratic foodstuffs for the table, and it is not stretching the imagination to see their presence and prominent siting within the landscape alongside other visibly high-status elements as extensions to the same type of self-expression and image-making.

While these features have left physical traces, including buildings and earthworks, one particularly important feature of the chivalric landscape that we know next to nothing about archaeologically is the medieval horse stud. The term 'chivalry' derived from the Old French *chevalerie*, which in turn derived

[24] For summaries and discussion of a site with a vast historiography, see *Lived Experience in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. Johnson.

[25] *Lived Experience in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. Johnson p. 51.

[26] T. Williamson, 'Fish, Fur and Feather: Man and Nature in the Post-medieval Landscape', in *Making English Landscapes*, ed. K. Barker and T. Darvill (Oxford, 1997), pp. 92–117.

[27] D. Stocker and M. Stocker, 'Sacred Profanity: The Theology of Rabbit Breeding and the Symbolic Landscape of the Warren', *World Archaeology* 28.2 (1996), pp. 265–72.

[28] Creighton, *Designs upon the Land*, pp. 106–9.

[29] N. Sykes, 'The Dynamics of Status Symbols: Wildfowl Exploitation in England AD 410–1550', *Archaeological Journal* 161.1 (2004), pp. 90–3; N. Sykes, *Beastly Questions: Animal Answers to Archaeological Issues* (London, 2014), pp. 165–7.

from the Latin *caballerius* (horseman).[30] Given the centrality of the warhorse to the making of the knightly image it is surprising how little we know about the landscapes these most characteristic medieval beasts and weapons of war were bred and trained within. Through the documentary evidence it is clear that the stud network expanded dramatically in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries as horse breeding developed and foreign breeds were introduced.[31] Studs were often located within deer parks, sometimes close to elite residences, which provided private, secure and carefully managed environments where horses could be grazed and watered, although we do not know enough about their locations to judge whether they were also sometimes positioned for effect. There are few archaeological and landscape studies of horse studs in Britain, although in the Yorkshire Dales, which were renowned as a horse-breeding landscape, a survey of the site of Leas House Farm, Askrigg, shows building platforms for ranges of stud structures within a D-shaped enclosure, while at the site of Nappa in Wensleydale an arrangement of stables for stallions and mares respectively at either end of the park can be reconstructed.[32]

An additional consideration is that the landscape settings of some of the most elaborate chivalric rituals and festivities were fabricated creations that left little or nothing in the way of tangible traces. For example, the Round Table festivals and theatrically staged tournaments that are discussed in the final part of this chapter must have entailed the erection of costly but impermanent infrastructure in the form of pavilions and grandstands festooned with banners and other embellishments, fenced-off enclosures for tourneying, tented encampments for participants and hangers-on, and even artificial scenery.[33] These 'chivalric landscapes' existed only for a matter of weeks, if that, and elements within them could even be mobile. For example, it was probably for the purposes of a Round Table tournament that a 'canvas castle' was transported from Wigmore, Shropshire, to Woodstock Palace, Oxfordshire, in the reign of Edward III.[34] Further afield, a spectacular round table tournament held by Roger de Luria, admiral

[30] M. Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven and London, 1984), pp. 1–2; *Chivalry and the Medieval Past*, ed. Stevenson and Gribling p. 2.

[31] R. H. C. Davis, *The Medieval Warhorse: Origin, Development and Redevelopment* (London, 1989), pp. 38–42, 81–96.

[32] S. Moorhouse, 'Anatomy of the Yorkshire Dales: Decoding the Medieval Landscape', in *The Archaeology of Yorkshire: An Assessment at the Beginning of the 21st Century*, ed. T. G. Manby, S. Moorhouse and P. Ottaway, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Occasional Paper No. 3 (Leeds, 2003), pp. 332–4.

[33] R. Barber, 'Imaginary Buildings', in *Edward III's Round Table at Windsor: The House of the Round Table and the Windsor Festival of 1344*, ed. J. Munby, R. Barber and R. Brown (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 100–15.

[34] It might have been moved from the Round Table festival held in Wales in 1328: J. R. V. Barker, *The Tournament in England, 1100–1400* (Woodbridge, 1986), pp. 89–90.

of Aragon, at Calatayud in the late thirteenth century featured a mock castle at one end of the jousting lists, from which he emerged to battle with opponents, although the occasion was curtailed due to concerns over health and safety.[35]

Castles, Gardens and Hunting Landscapes

The castle was the centrepiece of the idealised chivalric landscape; all aspects of chivalry were represented in its form and image.[36] The detail of castle architecture asserted martial prowess, reaching its apotheosis with the exhibitionist 'show-castles' of the mid fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, and the permanence and antiquity of the structure proclaimed aristocratic lineage. The hierarchical regulation of social space and access arrangements in castle planning, meanwhile, embodied cultural sophistication and courtly manners. In *Le Morte d'Arthur*, Malory's landscapes are punctuated with over forty named castles, many identified with French names and sometimes given specific English locations, which are the foci for military events such as sieges and tournaments but also hospitable spaces where questing heroes traversing the landscape pause for security, warmth, feasting and love.[37] The twinning of the castle with an ecclesiastical site added further layers of meaning. Piety as well as power was represented by a private chapel or mighty collegiate church within the fortress walls, or by a monastic house within sight of the noble seat that also served as a dynastic mausoleum.[38] Even medieval anchorages for religious recluses had their place in the castle: a number of royal and baronial fortresses of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries contained solitaries whose presence massaged their owners' sense of temporal power and aligned it with spiritual authority.[39]

The term 'castles of chivalry' has been used as a catch-all to characterise architectural showmanship in later medieval castle-building – especially the deployment of exaggerated and flamboyant architectural elements on towers,

[35] R. Barber, 'Why did Edward III hold the Round Table? The Literary Background', in *Edward III's Round Table at Windsor*, ed. Munby, Barber and Brown, pp. 97–8.

[36] D. Austin, 'The Castle and the Landscape', *Landscape History* 6 (1984), pp. 70–1.

[37] M. A. Whitaker, 'Sir Thomas Malory's Castles of Delight', *Mosaic: An Interdisciplinary Critical Journal* 9.2 (1976), pp. 73–84; B. Gaines, 'Malory's Castles in Text and Illustration', in *The Medieval Castle: Romance and Reality*, ed. K. Reyerson and F. Powe (Dubuque, Iowa, 1984), pp. 215–28.

[38] On relationships between castles and ecclesiastical sites, see O. H. Creighton, *Castles and Landscapes in Medieval England* (London, 2002), chapter 6; for the construction of the 'spiritual castle' in medieval literature, see A. Wheatley, *The Idea of the Castle in Medieval England* (York, 2004), chapter 3.

[39] E. Jones, 'O Sely Ankir', in *Medieval Anchorites in their Communities*, ed. C. Gunn and L. McAvoy (Cambridge, 2017), pp. 18–21.

battlements and gatehouses.[40] Of particular significance here is a group of newly built castles of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, especially in the south-east of England, which were constructed by men with new wealth whose grand building projects were sometimes accompanied by licences to crenellate.[41] The territories surrounding these sites provide especially rich sources of information on the materialisation of chivalric identities. Recurring themes were the artful keying of castles into landscape topography, use of artificial expanses of water to magnify the visual impression of architecture, and provision of contrived routes of approach that showcased buildings to visitors.[42] Crucially, however, we should not equate the 'chivalric castle' – nostalgic and dripping with imagery – with the supposed 'decline' of the castle. Rather, concerns of defence, display and symbolism were always irrevocably entwined in castle architecture from the eleventh century onwards.[43]

Nonetheless, the development of the medieval castle is often portrayed as an upwards trajectory of growing sophistication until ostensibly 'military architecture' became a façade for high-quality country living. Another frequently overlooked narrative is how castles also looked backwards, connecting with the past or even feigning antiquity through deliberately archaic architecture, re-using ancient fabric or referencing earlier sites and legends.[44] Arthurian myths tied to castles are a manifestation of this,[45] with Edward I's Caernarfon the exemplar.[46] Another clear case in point is 'Guy's Tower' at Warwick castle, added by the Beauchamp earls in the late fourteenth century as a prominent twelve-sided, 39-metre-high eye-catcher visible for miles around. While it was built to a cutting-edge design characterised by a crown-like machicolated parapet, its name referenced the hero Guy of Warwick from the popular romance, whom the earls

[40] C. Platt, *The Castle in Medieval England and Wales* (London, 1982), chapters 7–8; M. W. Thompson, *The Decline of the Castle* (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 71–2; see also R. Liddiard, *Castles in Context: Power, Symbolism and Landscape, 1066 to 1500* (Bollington, 2005), pp. 7, 57–8.

[41] For an overview, see C. Coulson, 'Fourteenth-century Castles in Context: Apotheosis or Decline?', in *Late Medieval Castles*, ed. R. Liddiard (Woodbridge, 2016), pp. 19–40.

[42] Creighton, *Designs upon the Land*, pp. 77–87.

[43] See O. H. Creighton and R. Liddiard, 'Fighting Yesterday's Battle: Beyond War or Status in Castle Studies', *Medieval Archaeology* 52 (2008), pp. 161–9.

[44] King, 'The Castle in Medieval England', p. 26.

[45] R. K. Morris, 'The Architecture of Arthurian Enthusiasm: Castle Symbolism in the Reigns of Edward I and his Successors', in *Armies, Chivalry and Warfare in Medieval England and France*, ed. M. J. Strickland, (Stamford, 1998), pp. 63–81; Wheatley, *The Idea of the Castle*, pp. 148–9.

[46] A. Wheatley, 'Caernarfon Castle and its Mythology', in *The Impact of the Edwardian Castles in Wales*, ed. D. M. Williams and J. R. Kenyon (Oxford, 2010), pp. 129–39.

viewed as their ancestor, thus making propaganda from the past.[47] The legendary hero was also referenced in the castle's landscape in the form of a hermitage cave known as *Gybbeclyf* ('Guy's Cliffe'), probably constructed in the mid fourteenth century, which featured a great statue of Guy cut out of the living rock.[48]

The detail of late medieval military architecture incorporated more specific chivalric devices to proclaim dynastic achievements and claims. The focus of embellishment was often those public-facing parts of the site that could be seen by approaching visitors or from surrounding landscapes, its impact upon the senses being heightened where sculpture was painted. The most obvious example is the display of chivalry around gatehouses, which we see become decorative foci from the thirteenth century onwards.[49] Especially expressive were panels above gate portals featuring depictions of beasts with chivalric associations and coats of arms; sparser in their distribution are decorative embellishments upon battlements, such as stone figurines, which seem to have been a largely northern English development. The apotheosis of the phenomenon is represented by the late-fourteenth- to early-fifteenth-century gatehouse of Hylton, Co. Durham, whose frontage drips with chivalric devices, including multiple shields and banners depicting noble and royal arms.[50] The late-fourteenth-century great tower at Warkworth, famously incorporates a gigantic outward-facing Percy lion that looms above the main street of the town that developed beneath the castle, showing that it was intended as a very public statement.[51]

While we are primarily interested here in the place of the castle within the chivalric landscape, so too should we appreciate that there existed landscapes within castles. Such was the scale of the grander castles and palaces that their interiors could constitute carefully manicured landscapes in their own right, incorporating great open courtyards and different sorts of garden spaces, all arranged according to courtly protocols of status and hierarchy. The open areas

[47] E. Mason, 'Legends of the Beauchamps' Ancestors: The Use of Baronial Propaganda in Medieval England', *Journal of Medieval History* 10.1 (1984), p. 33; see also J. Goodall, *The English Castle, 1066– 1650* (New Haven and London, 2011), pp. 297–8; A. Parkyn and T. McNeill, 'Regional Power and the Profits of War: The East Range of Warwick Castle', *Archaeological Journal* 169 (2012), pp. 514–16.

[48] J. A. A. Goodall, 'The Chantry Chapel at Guy's Cliffe, Warwick', in *Coventry: Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology in the City and its Vicinity (The British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions 33)*, ed. L. Monckton and R. K. Morris (Leeds, 2011), pp. 304–17; see also J. Frankis, 'Taste and Patronage in Late Medieval England as Reflected in Versions of "Guy of Warwick"', *Medium Ævum* 66.1 (1997), pp. 80–93.

[49] M. Hislop, *Castle Builders: Approaches to Castle Design and Construction in the Middle Ages* (Barnsley, 2016), pp. 229–34.

[50] B. Morley, 'Hylton Castle', *Archaeological Journal* 133 (1976), pp. 118–34.

[51] M. Johnson, 'Reconstructing Castles and Refashioning Identities in Renaissance England', in *Familiar Past? Archaeologies of Later Historical Britain*, ed. S. Tarlow and S. West (London and New York, 1999), pp. 76–7.

within large wards or outer baileys were ideal venues for chivalric tournaments and other displays of pageantry, a prime case in point being Edward III's famous Round Table feast centred upon Windsor castle in January 1344. The centrepiece of the occasion was the 'House of the Round Table', whose construction is known from building accounts and whose location in a corner of the castle's upper ward was revealed by archaeological investigation; it seems to have been intended as an open-air structure, circular in plan and overlooked by a surrounding gallery, although it was left incomplete.[52] The 'landscape within the castle' was manifested in a different way in tapestries and wall hangings, upon which intimate gardens and expansive hunting scenes were favoured motifs. Another consideration is that elevated structures within castle complexes provided vantage points for viewing surrounding landscapes. There is clear evidence in castle planning that access to these privileged vistas, especially from rooftops, could be carefully regulated, for instance through duplicated stairs providing separate public and private access routes, and through the provision of stairs to parapets from high-status chambers.[53] Windows afforded different sorts of viewing opportunities. An especially clear case in point is the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century *Gloriette* (a particularly exclusive type of elevated chamber evoking glamorous associations from the world of medieval literature), which characteristically commanded panoramas over attractive countryside.[54] Other chamber windows overlooked gardens in courtyards below them.[55] At Okehampton, Devon [fig. 4], the arrangement of the landscape around the castle in the early fourteenth century provided sharply contrasting visual experiences for different types of people: on its northern side a thick curtain wall confronted visitors or travellers on the road past its 'public' side, while window seats in sumptuous elevated chambers on its 'private' southern side looked out on to exclusive parkland.[56]

Frequently set within or immediately adjoining the castle or palace precinct, gardens were especially significant arenas within which chivalric identities were

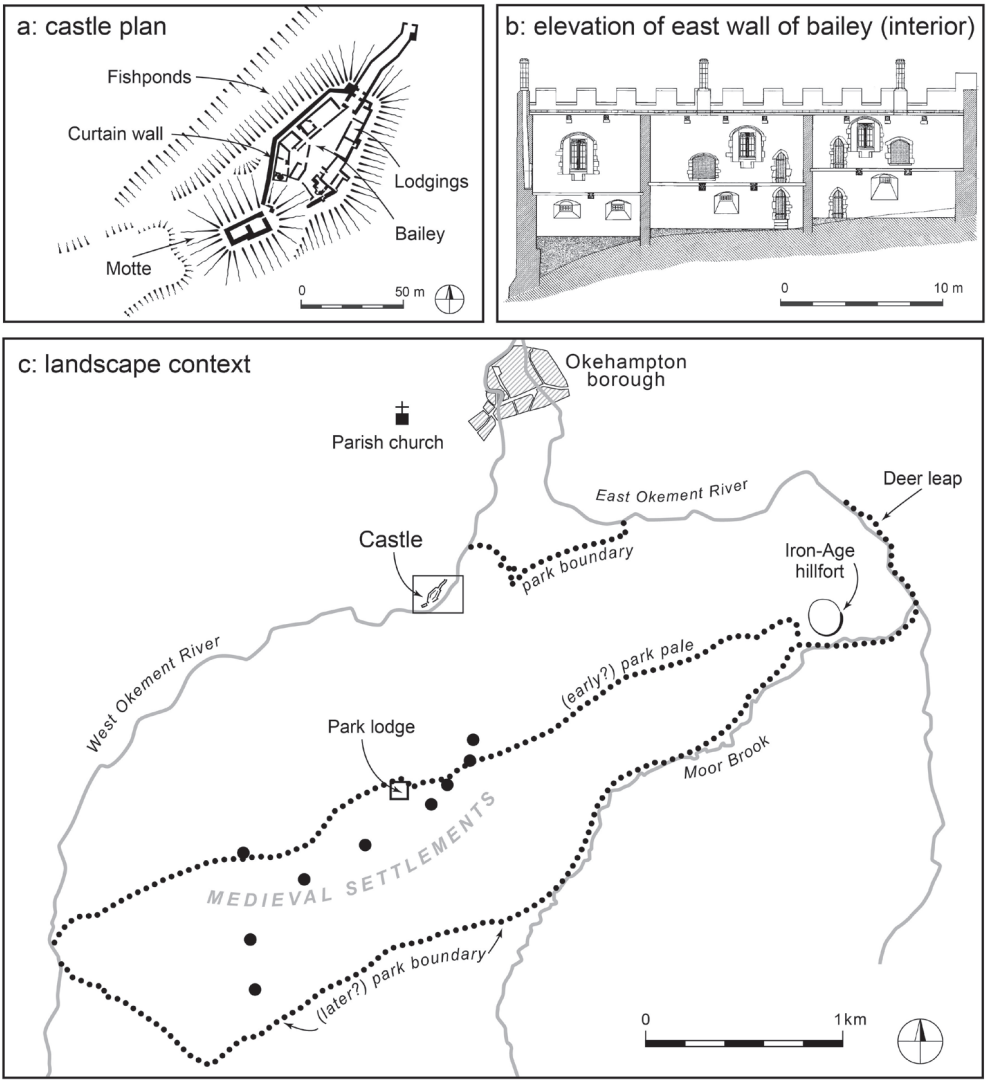
[52] J. Munby, T. Tatton-Brown and R. Brown, 'The Round Table Building', in *Edward III's Round Table at Windsor*, ed. Munby, Barber and Brown, pp. 44–65.

[53] T. McNeill, 'The View from the Top', in *Mélanges d'Archéologie Médiévale. Liber Amicorum en Homage à André Matthys*, ed. D. Sarlet (Namur, 2006), pp. 122–7; O. H. Creighton, 'Seeing and Believing: Looking Out on Medieval Castle Landscapes', *Concilium medii aevi* 14 (2011), pp. 79–91.

[54] J. A. Ashbee, '"The Chamber called Gloriette": Living at Leisure in Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-century Castles', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 157 (2004), pp. 17–40.

[55] For a case study, see S. Richardson, 'A Room with a View? Looking Outwards from Late Medieval Harewood', *Archaeological Journal* 167 (2010), pp. 14–54; for overviews, see O. H. Creighton, 'Room with a View: Framing Castle Landscapes', *Château Gaillard* 10 (2010), pp. 47–58; D. Rollason, *The Power of Place: Rulers and their Palaces, Landscapes, Cities, and Holy Places* (Princeton and Oxford, 2016), pp. 109–11.

[56] Creighton, 'Room with a View', pp. 42–4.



4 Okehampton castle, Devon, showing the castle in the context of its deer park

negotiated and played out. The colour green had special spiritual significance in the code of chivalry, and medieval writers paid detailed attention to how garden lawns should be prepared and maintained to ensure verdant lushness.[57] Scholarship has focused heavily upon the garden in literature, those in monasteries

[57] S. Landsberg, *The Medieval Garden* (London, 1996), p. 56.

and others built at the very highest social levels.[58] The locations and plans of secular gardens remain more obscure than we might imagine, with the character of many 'medieval' gardens on heritage sites based on questionable assumptions. The classic *hortus conclusus* was a small enclosed and intricately planned space, defined by paths, beds and borders and punctuated with seats (or arbours) and eye-catchers such as fountains. However, the archaeological recording of large-scale ornamental settings, including moats, ponds and pathways, around medieval elite residences raises the question of where our definition of the medieval garden ends. Were extensive pleasure grounds that could impact on the way an entire complex was approached and experienced not also gardens in their own right?

The garden was, in different contexts, a contemplative space and the locus for courtly love; a contrived setting for a noble seat; and a utilitarian plot for growing vegetables. These arrangements could convey messages of power and sophistication but also held multiple layers of cultural and political symbolism and had strikingly varied purposes.[59] Larger residences had access to a range of garden spaces serving different purposes and different audiences, including female members of the court. The interrelationships between gardens and domestic apartments are of great relevance here, as they provide a key to unravelling how gardens were accessed (and by whom), and who enjoyed prestigious views over them. Within the matrix of high-status domestic planning, gardens often appear as outdoor rooms; some of the most private and secluded lay beneath upper-floor bedchambers, especially those of queens or noblewomen, although others gained their privacy through more isolated positions within the landscape, sometimes as detached moated features.[60]

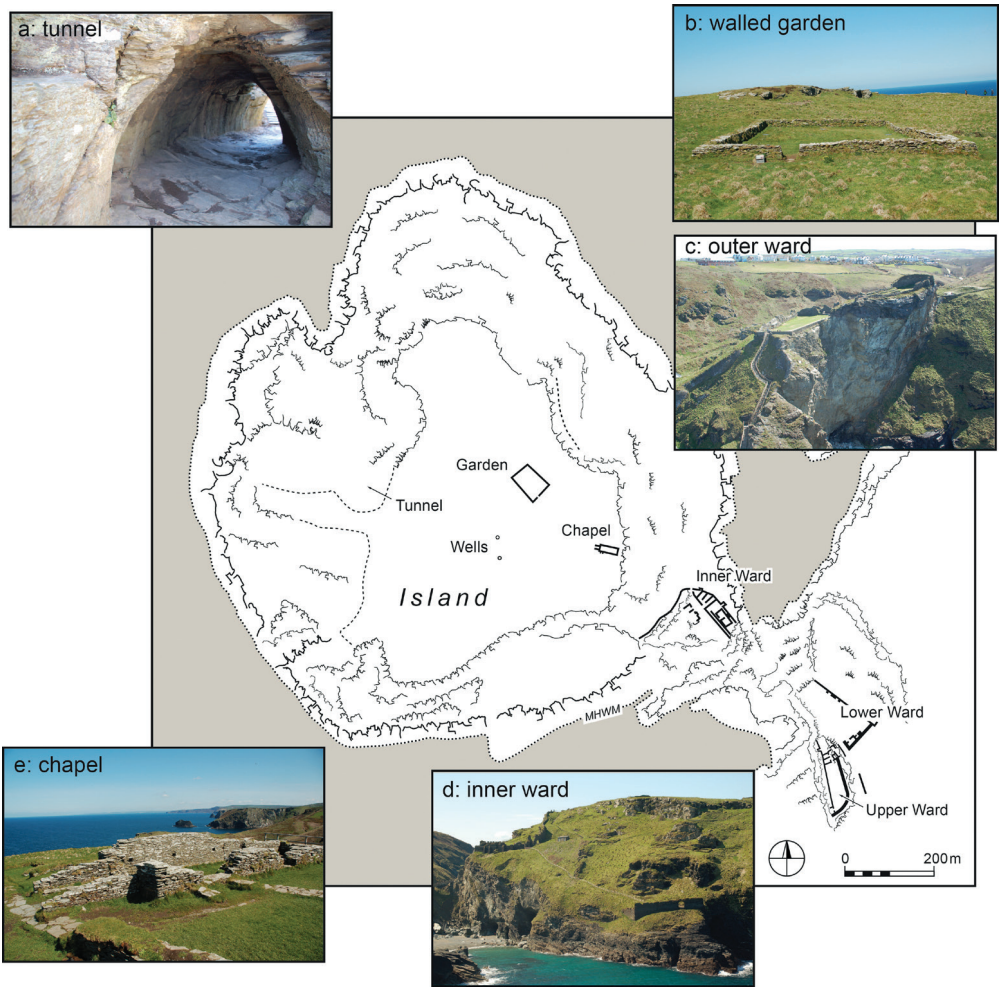
A challenge with the archaeological evidence of medieval gardens is that several sites were excavated before garden archaeology was recognised as a sub-discipline and before its full potential to reveal new information was realised.[61] Tintagel castle, Cornwall, preserves a very rare excavated medieval garden, oddly positioned on an exposed headland site, that is consolidated and on public display following excavation in the 1930s [fig. 5]. Revised dating of the archaeological evidence for Tintagel now sees the castle as an initiative of Richard, earl of Cornwall, in the mid to late thirteenth century, which raises the possibility that the earl was drawing upon Tintagel's international fame in contemporary

[58] For overviews of the medieval garden, see J. Harvey, *Medieval Gardens* (London, 1981); *Medieval Gardens*, ed. E. B. MacDougall (Washington, 1986); S. Landsberg, *The Medieval Garden* (London, 1996); A. Jennings, *Medieval Gardens* (Swindon, 2004).

[59] Rollason, *The Power of Place*, pp. 119–45.

[60] A. Emery, *Greater Medieval Houses of England and Wales 1300–1500. Volume III, Southern England* (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 479–80.

[61] For an overview, see C. C. Taylor, 'The Place of Analytical Fieldwork in Garden Archaeology', *The Journal of Garden History* 17:1 (1997), pp. 18–25.



5 Tintagel castle, Cornwall, highlighting features discussed in the text

literature to make real a 'literary landscape', referencing King Mark of Cornwall's legendary castle and the garden, well and chapel that feature in Tristan and Iseult.[62] At Farleigh Hungerford, Somerset, the castle of the 1370s/80s includes a

[62] P. Rose, 'The Medieval Garden at Tintagel Castle', *Cornish Archaeology* 33 (1994), pp. 170–82; R. C. Barrowman, C. E. Batey and C. D. Morris, *Excavations at Tintagel Castle, Cornwall, 1990-1999*, Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London 74 (London, 2007), pp. 19–21, 322–3; for 'designed landscapes' around other castles and properties of Richard, earl of Cornwall, see O. H. Creighton, 'Castle, Landscape and Townscape in Thirteenth-century England: The "Princely Building Strategies"

spacious garden court abutting and overlooked by the Hungerford family's apartments. It is a prime example of an internal castle landscape reflecting the outlook of a family who were rising in the social order, although excavation of the space in the 1920s revealed only a cobbled path and we know nothing of its planning or plants.[63] Elsewhere, gardens are preserved as earthworks, as at Ravensworth, North Yorkshire [fig. 6], where a gridded arrangement of garden compartments, perhaps of two phases, can be seen, unusually in the more public-facing part of the complex, with no clear evidence that they were overlooked from high-status parts of the castle.[64]

At Whittington castle, Shropshire, archaeological survey has revealed evidence for a garden arrangement, perhaps of the fourteenth century, where a remodelling of the bailey saw an enclosed garden surrounded by water-filled ditches overlooked by a viewing mound.[65] Our dataset expands dramatically from the sixteenth century onwards. The garden that Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester, created at Kenilworth in the 1570s was one of the wonders of the Elizabethan world, although it probably perpetuated an earlier medieval garden on the same site. In November 1374, a payment is recorded to enclose a garden within the castle, and its location in the north court would explain the large arch within the forebuilding attached to the west side of the great tower, which seems to have provided a suitably elegant point of access from the inner bailey into the garden space, while the chamber above it would have commanded a view over the arrangement.[66]

Beyond the castle walls, the hunting ground constituted the chivalric landscape *par excellence*. The code of chivalry dictated that men of rank and taste should hunt, while in the romances moors, wastes and forests were landscapes of testing and destiny, with the crossing of thresholds by hunting parties from the civilised and managed world into the supernatural a recurring motif. In Malory's England, forests started at the castle gate. This raises an important point: the chivalric landscape was not necessarily a managed landscape. While many of the spaces considered in this chapter were shaped and managed by human agency, and sometimes physically enclosed (as in the case of deer parks), others were undeveloped wildernesses, so the concept of the aristocratic or chivalric landscape is not entirely restricted to environments that were consciously designed.

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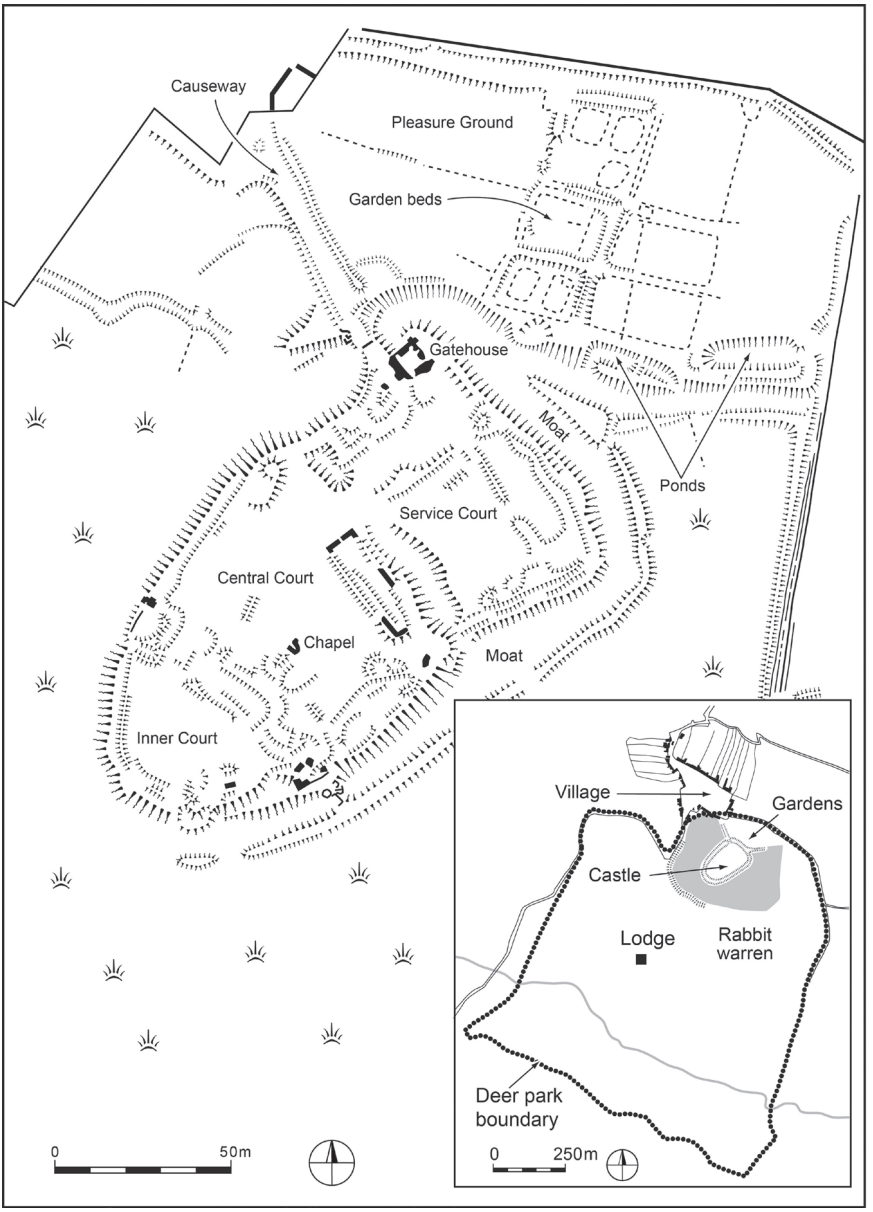
of Richard, Earl of Cornwall', in *Rank and Order: The Formation of Aristocratic Elites in Western and Central Europe, 500–1500*, ed. J. Peltzer (Ostfildern, 2015), pp. 309–41.

[63] Emery, *Greater Medieval Houses*, III, p. 555.

[64] S. Richardson and E. Dennison, 'A Wall with a View? The Gardens at Ravensworth Castle, North Yorkshire', *Landscape History* 35.2 (2014), pp. 21–38

[65] Creighton, *Designs upon the Land*, p. 68; for full report see Terra Nova, 'A Geoarchaeological Study of Whittington Castle' (unpublished report, 2002).

[66] See Figure 3. G. Demidowicz, 'The North Court Prior to Leicester's Work', in *The Elizabethan Garden at Kenilworth Castle*, ed. A. Keay and T. Watkins (Swindon, 2013), pp. 35–6.



6 Plan of Ravensworth castle, North Yorkshire, in its designed aristocratic landscape

The larger and higher-status deer parks were characterised by intricate internal landscaping that provided a variety of experiences, with landscapes of different texture nested one inside the other to create designer-wildernesses. One of the most elaborate designed landscapes yet recognised is that at Hesdin in Artois,

created for Robert II, count of Artois, in the late thirteenth century upon his return from Italy, Spain and Sicily, apparently heavily influenced by advisors and gardeners from the Mediterranean.[67] The park comprised a nested sequence of landscapes covering 800 hectares [fig. 7]: a more explicitly designed zone near the castle featuring a menagerie and gardens; a central wilderness; and a more secluded suite of water gardens featuring a pavilion. Depicted in a painting of 1432 that shows a wedding in the park, and described in a famous contemporary poem, *Remède de fortune*, it was a focal point for the Burgundian court and at the sharp end of contemporary landscape design, being the inspiration for other great parks, including in England.[68]

Inner parks, set within larger parkland units and forming the inner sanctum around residences, ensured exclusivity but also offered particular visual qualities, especially where high-status areas – windows, parapets, gardens and terraces – afforded grandstand views over them.[69] The exemplar is Clarendon Palace in Wiltshire, where royal apartments overlooked gardens set within an inner park that was surrounded, in turn, by the largest medieval deer park in England.[70] Royal parks hosted exclusive chivalric tournaments: one was held at Windsor, Berkshire, in 1277, for which knights were supplied with materials from London and Paris, and others at Woodstock, Oxfordshire, in 1355 and 1389.[71] It is also deep within hunting grounds that we find the hermits and hermitages which featured prominently in romances and chivalric literature, their inaccessible locations mirroring the liminal landscape contexts of those on fens and bridges.[72] Some had close associations with the heroic ancestors of castle lords, as at Warwick.[73] Several purpose-built hermitages and hermitage-chapels lay within castle parks, as at Restormel, Cornwall, for example, and at Warkworth, where a rock-cut hermitage of the fourteenth or fifteenth century was set on a

[67] S. Farmer, 'Aristocratic Power and the "Natural" Landscape: The Garden Park at Hesdin, ca. 1291–1302', *Speculum* 88.3 (2013), pp 644–80; A. Hagopian van Buren, 'Reality and Literary Romance in the Park of Hesdin', in *Medieval Gardens*, ed. E. B. MacDougall (Washington, 1986), pp. 117–34.

[68] Farmer, 'Aristocratic Power and the "Natural" Landscape', p. 645.

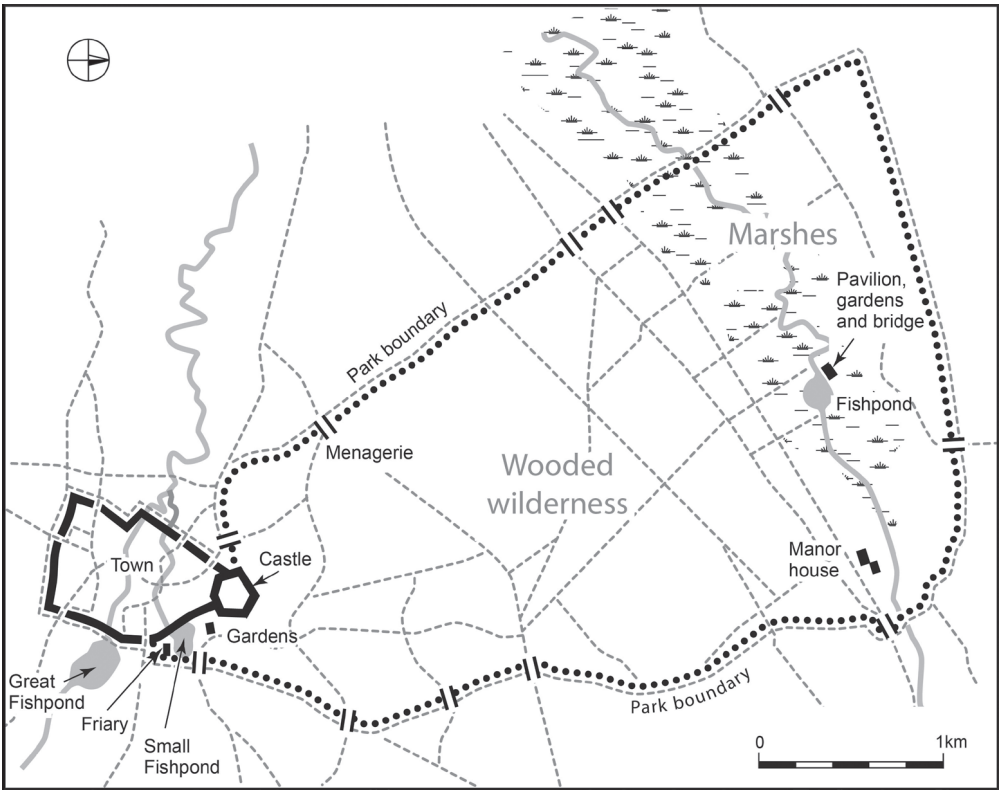
[69] S. A. Mileson, *Parks in Medieval England* (Oxford, 2009), p. 95; Creighton, *Designs upon the Land*, pp. 134–9.

[70] A. Richardson, *The Forest, Park and Palace of Clarendon, c.1200–c.1650: Reconstructing an Actual, Conceptual and Documented Wiltshire Landscape* (Oxford, 2005); T. B. James and C. Gerrard, *Clarendon: Landscape of Kings* (Bollington, 2007).

[71] J. Roberts, *Royal Landscape: The Gardens and Parks of Windsor* (New Haven and London, 1997), p. 10; Mileson, *Parks in Medieval England*, p. 94.

[72] R. Gilchrist, *Contemplation and Action: The Other Monasticism* (London, 1995), pp. 164–5, 210–11.

[73] See also note 47 above; for overviews of castles and hermitages, see J. Goodall, *The English Castle, 1066–1650* (New Haven and London, 2011), pp. 299–300; Creighton, *Designs upon the Land*, pp. 19, 139–40.



7 Reconstruction of the medieval park at Hedin, northern France

river cliff within the park known as 'Sunderland Park'.[74] That at Grafton Regis, Northamptonshire, one of very few hermitages to have seen serious archaeological investigation, lay within Grafton Park and received the patronage of the Woodville family, who held the manor house.[75]

Engaging with medieval literary evidence in conjunction with the archaeology provides our greatest means of understanding the lived experiences of these chivalric hunting landscapes. In the case of Peak, or Peveril, castle, in Derbyshire (fig. 8a), building on a detailed topographical and architectural survey of the site, an imaginative analysis of how the castle and its environs might have been experienced by a hunting party returning from the surrounding moors has

[74] J. Goodall, *Warkworth Castle and Hermitage* (London, 2006); see also Gilchrist, *Contemplation and Action*, p. 170.

[75] G. Parker, 'The Medieval Hermitage of Grafton Regis', *Northamptonshire Past and Present* 6 (1981–82), pp. 247–52; *The Victoria History of the County of Northampton,* vol. V., ed. P. Riden and C. Insley (London, 2002), pp. 144, 147–8.

8a Peveril castle, Derbyshire: view of the keep, overlooking the hunting grounds of Peak Forest

8b Barnard castle, County Durham, showing the great hall on a cliff-top site, overlooking hunting grounds

considered the visual spectacle of the castle's outline against its wild setting, and how the most privileged visitors to the castle's inner sanctum would have gazed from windows that looked out on to Mam Tor and to the parish church, 'appreciating how its lord drew authority not from a single site but from the entire landscape'.[76] At Barnard castle, County Durham (fig. 8b), the archaeologist who excavated the site drew on chivalric literature to comment that the Balliol's hall was sited so that it 'drew the eye for judgement and admiration with its coded signals of rank and courtoisie', being in full view of huntsmen in the adjacent dale and woodland.[77]

Martial Landscapes: Sieges, Battlefields and Tournament Sites

The chivalric ethos was rooted to the battlefield and a landscape approach to chivalry demands that we also acknowledge the different types of martial arena – sieges, battlefields and tournament sites – that provided contexts for chivalric deeds and behaviour.

Sieges could be chivalric showpieces. Detailed archaeological study of the so-called 'Anarchy' of Stephen's reign in the mid twelfth century has shown that sieges could amount to long periods of standoff that allowed aristocratic leaders to retain their dignity and for chivalric codes of martial conduct to be adhered to.[78] The protracted nature of sieges also ensured that they could be preceded or punctuated by morale-boosting tournaments; successful ones resulting in the capture and surrender of a castle or town were sometimes concluded by a tournament. At the 1141 siege of Winchester, for example, Henry of Huntingdon describes how 'Conflicts took place every day, not in pitched battles but in the excursions of knightly manoeuvres.'[79] During the same conflict, the Battle of Lincoln (1141) was preceded by King Stephen's troops attempting to joust with their Angevin opponents, while the king's men indulged in war games of their own at the siege of Ludlow, Shropshire (1139).[80] In all these cases clashes of arms took place against the dramatic backdrops of walled cities and castles. In a later context, Edward I's siege of Stirling (1304) had tournament-like qualities; with an array of the latest expensively built military equipment on display, the king

[76] P. S. Barnwell, 'The Power of Peak Castle: Cultural Contexts and Changing Perceptions', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 160 (2007), p. 33.

[77] D. Austin, *Acts of Perception: A Study of Barnard Castle in Teesdale,* 2 vols (Durham, 2007), p. 659.

[78] O. H. Creighton and D. W. Wright, *The Anarchy: War and Status in Twelfth-century Landscapes of Conflict* (Liverpool, 2016), chapter 3.

[79] Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum,* x. 19, ed. and trans. D. Greenway (Oxford, 1996), pp. 740–1.

[80] Creighton and Wright, *The Anarchy,* pp. 46, 181.

had built a grandstand-like viewing gallery so that the queen and ladies of the court could observe the spectacle, and his knights jousted at the siege's conclusion.[81] This blurred distinction between the tournament and 'real' conflict is also exemplified by the *pas d'armes* (or 'passage of arms,' involving individual or group combat) of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, which drew heavily on the world of knightly romances and poems. These events sometimes saw mock castles or 'real' geographical features such as bridges or trees held by one side and assaulted by the other.[82]

As the 'ultimate chivalric playground', the landscape context of the medieval tournament also deserves close attention.[83] But while historians have unpicked the origins, development and conduct of the medieval tournament in fine detail, from the *mêlée* of the twelfth century through to the theatrical and literary-inspired tournaments of the later middle ages (see Barber, this volume), the landscape dimension to this most quintessential chivalric pursuit remains comparatively little understood.[84] The role of the tournament as a social nexus through which chivalric ideas diffused was arguably as important to its popularity as the martial activities themselves, and this aspect of the tournament is reflected in the distribution of venues across Europe's landscape to form a dense, interconnected network. Due to the impermanence of their infrastructure, tournament sites have, however, received far less attention from archaeologists than the other key elements of the noble landscape discussed in this chapter. While the phrase 'ritual landscape' is synonymous with the archaeology of the prehistoric world, given the centrality of the ritual of the tournament to chivalric culture, the term is equally apposite in this context.

The familiar image of the jousting paddock (or 'tiltyard') nestled beneath the walls of a castle, as exemplified by the miniature for September in the *Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry*, for example, represents but one dimension to the complex and varied landscape context of the medieval tournament.[85] The greatest tournament sites in northern France were sufficiently large to incorporate different landscape types and features that furnished participants with varied opportunities for combat.[86] Sometimes held to mark great religious feasts

[81] J. Steane, *The Archaeology of the Medieval English Monarchy* (London, 1993), p. 157; M. Strickland. 'A Law of Arms or a Law of Treason? Conduct in War in Edward I's Campaigns in Scotland, 1296–1307', in *Violence in Medieval Society*, ed. R. W. Kaeuper (Woodbridge, 2000), p. 74; on Edward I and Arthur, see R. S. Loomis, 'Edward I, Arthurian Enthusiast', *Speculum* 28.1 (1953), pp. 114–27.

[82] R. W. Jones, *Bloodied Banners: Martial Display on the Medieval Battlefield* (Woodbridge, 2010), p. 173.

[83] K. Stevenson, *Chivalry and Knighthood in Scotland 1424–1513* (Woodbridge, 2006), p. 187.

[84] On tournament sites generally, see D. Crouch, *Tournament* (London, 2005), pp. 49–55.

[85] See Figure 3.

[86] Crouch, *Tournament*, p. 51.

or significant points in a noble family's life such as a birth or marriage, but on other occasions for no good reason at all, these events could vary in scale from structured one-on-one jousts to fierce and barely controlled *mêlées* involving hundreds on each side. Many were private and exclusive occasions; others, especially larger-scale events, were public occasions for mass consumption. If there is one obvious trend through time it is for the tournament to become progressively closed and exclusive, so as the level of convention and theatre increased, with some events rehearsed and requiring stage sets, then so too did the formality of its landscape setting, which became more closely delimited with more emphasis on observation by exclusive audiences.[87] There are subtle geographical variations in this pattern, however. For example, the rise of the court of Burgundy saw the tournament become an increasingly exclusive affair from the end of the fourteenth century onwards.[88] The 'aristocratisation of the tournament', meaning its exclusion from the urban elite and concentration in more private settings, may have taken place a little later in the Low Countries, perhaps in the second half of the fifteenth century.[89]

The depiction of city walls in the background of tournament scenes in manuscript illustrations reminds us that urban environments formed the backcloth to many events, with urban commons particularly favoured as venues. According to Geoffrey of Monmouth in the twelfth century, city walls acted as grandstands from which womenfolk could observe the *mêlée* in the meadows below,[90] while the renowned tournament site of Smithfield, London, lay on the urban fringe. A lengthy and dramatic tournament held outside Wallingford castle and town, Oxfordshire, is described in sufficient detail in Chrétien de Troyes' French romance *Cligés* to suggest that the author had personal knowledge of the site and the region.[91] Historic map evidence and place-names can help us pin down less celebrated tournament locations with greater precision. For example, at Lincoln an area immediately west of the walled city, recorded from the thirteenth century as 'Battle Place' or 'Trial Piece', was the traditional site of trial by battle,

[87] S. A. Mileson, 'Royal and Aristocratic Landscapes of Pleasure', in *Oxford Handbook of Medieval Archaeology*, ed. C. Gerrard and A. Gutierrez (Oxford, forthcoming).

[88] M. Vale, *The Princely Court: Medieval Courts and Culture in North-West Europe* (Oxford, 2001), p. 199.

[89] M. Damen, 'Tournament Culture in the Low Countries and England', in *Contact and Exchange in Later Medieval Europe: Essays in Honour of Malcolm Vale,* ed. H. Skoda, P. Lantschner and R. L. J. Shaw (Woodbridge, 2012), p. 248.

[90] *Geoffrey of Monmouth*, trans. L. Thorpe (Harmondsworth, 1966), pp. 229–30.

[91] *Chrétien de Troyes in Prose: The Burgundian Erec and Cligés*, trans. J. Tasker Grimbert and C. J. Chase (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 1–3; for discussion of references to the castle and town in romance literature, see N. J. Christie and O. H. Creighton, with H. Hamerow and M. Edgeworth, *Townscapes in Transformation. From Burh to Borough: The Archaeology of Wallingford, AD 800–1400*, Society for Medieval Archaeology Monograph 35 (Leeds, 2013), pp. 160–1.

being attached to the castle and on or near the battlefield of 1141.[92] Historic field-names provide further potential indicators for the locations of tournament venues, some of them apparently otherwise undocumented. Caution is required, however: the element 'tilt' in field-names (e.g. Tiltland, Copford, Essex) is usually derived from the Old English *tȳned* ('enclosed land'), although *Tiltingfield Clough* (Long Drax, West Yorkshire) seems a likely tournament space.[93] Field-names containing the element 'just/jutting' (joust/jousting) appear more diagnostic of lost tournament grounds: examples include *Justing Furlong* (Wakefield, West Yorkshire), *Justingcroft* (Chester) and, most suggestively, *Justing Close* next to the castle at Laxton (Nottinghamshire).[94] Careful work on plotting such field-names could provide new insight into the geography of the tournament beyond the better-known and better-documented locations.

In the Low Countries in particular, but also in Germany and Italy, the urban fabric became a stage set for the ritual of the chivalric tournament: cityscapes festooned with banners hosted processions; houses accommodated combatants and retinues; and market squares served as arenas surrounded by vantage points, as was the case with the great tournaments held in the Grote Markt in Brussels in the fifteenth century, for example.[95] So great were the gatherings at larger tournaments – involving several thousand participants, not to mention spectators – that they must have had economic impacts upon their hinterlands. The biggest occasions must have resulted in artefact loss across the countryside on a scale similar to battlefields (but presumably excluding the heads of projectile weapons), although archaeologists have yet to investigate these.

Rulers' attempts to regulate tournaments were another factor in their changing landscape context, especially in England. Locations at boundaries or other liminal positions were especially favoured. In the kingdom of France, royal prohibitions pushed tournaments towards the marches from the mid to late thirteenth century.[96] In Flanders, tournament locations on the borders between territories were popular in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[97] Standard practice was for the site of a tournament to be described as being *between* named towns or places rather than *at* a particular location. This was the case with Rich-

[92] M. Jones, D. Stocker and A. Vince, *The City by the Pool: Assessing the Archaeology of the City of Lincoln* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 220, 300, 304, fig. 9.59.

[93] D. Field, *English Field-Names: A Dictionary* (Newton Abbot, 1972), p. 233; D. Field, *A History of English Field-Names* (London and New York, 1993), pp. 233–4.

[94] Field, *A History of English Field-Names*, pp. 243–4.

[95] M. Damen, 'The Town as a Stage: Urban Space and Tournaments in Late Medieval Brussels', *Urban History* 43.1 (2016), pp. 47–71; Damen, 'Tournament Culture in the Low Countries and England', pp. 250–1.

[96] Vale, *The Princely Court*, p. 188.

[97] E. Oksanen, *Flanders and the Anglo-Norman World, 1066–1216* (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 124, 141.

ard I's 1194 restriction of tournaments to five locations where fees were paid and the activity could be regulated: Salisbury–Wilton, Warwick–Kenilworth, Brackley–Mixbury, Stamford–Wansford and Blyth–Tickhill.[98] On the one hand these locations were on the margins, between inhabited places; yet equally, they were focused in the centre of England and readily accessible via the road network, with none in a peripheral region of the kingdom (only one north of the Trent and none in Wales or the marches), and the decree did not cover overseas territories. Most were in broad open countryside, at visible points within the landscape. Locations that were both accessible and liminal were attractive for a combination of reasons. They minimised the risk of fomenting disorder or of damage to property if things got out of hand and secluded these activities from the displeasure of the Church. Just as importantly, they magnified the tournament's mystique, ensuring that combatants had to make journeys from familiar surroundings into the unknown, which reflects the status of the tournament in the literary world as a space between the *locus amoenus* (the pleasant place) and *locus eremus* (the desolate/wild place).[99]

Edward I was a specialist in the Round Table festival-tournament. Preparations for his Winchester tournament of 1290 held outside the city involved renovation of the more public-facing elements of the castle and, uniquely, we have documentary evidence that preparation of its site required earth-moving, as Robert Dote received 13s 4d from the king for constructing a ditched enclosure for it.[100] Edward's conquest of Wales was celebrated with a Round Table at Nefyn in 1284. The occasion seems to have featured Arthurian imagery and props, reflecting the well-known Arthurian associations of castles in the region, and the place-name *Cae Ymryson* ('Tournament Field') seems to mark the location of the event.[101] A Round Table at Falkirk (1302) celebrated another military victory, this time over William Wallace.[102] Some of these exclusive tournaments, to which access was restricted to tailored courtly audiences and participants, were staged within deer parks, including 'little' or 'inner' parks around residences (see above).

The lists that separated jousters, the barriers around tournament grounds (often doubled, to judge from manuscript illustrations), and the scaffolding for spectators were temporary timber constructions, while tents erected for combatants were portable, as were items of scenery. In the reign of Richard II, Gilbert

[98] Crouch, *Tournament*, p. 53–4; see also Barker, *The Tournament in England*, p. 53.

[99] J. E. Lindquist, 'Medieval Depiction of Spaces: Battle and Tournament Fields in the Tristan and Ysolt Legend', *La corónica: A Journal of Medieval Hispanic Languages, Literatures, and Cultures* 44. 1 (2015), pp. 163–75.

[100] M. Biddle, *King Arthur's Round Table: An Archaeological Investigation* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 264–70.

[101] S. G. Smith, 'Parks and Designed Landscapes in Medieval Wales', in *Deer and People*, ed. Baker, Carden and Madgwick, pp. 231.

[102] M. Prestwich, *Edward I* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1988), p. 120.

Prince, a citizen of London and a painter, was employed by the Wardrobe to decorate banners and other embellishments for festivities including tournaments; he was succeeded upon his death by his apprentice, Thomas Litlington.[103]

It is very uncertain whether open areas within or around castles and palaces now labelled as 'tiltyards' were ever used or intended as such. The word is associated with several different sorts of spaces: most commonly open areas within baileys or wards (e.g. Bridgnorth and Ludlow, Shropshire; Carisbrooke, Isle of Wight), but also ponds (Bodiam, East Sussex), fields outside the castle walls (Tattershall, Lincolnshire), and causeways on dams holding back artificial lakes (Raglan, Monmouthshire and Kenilworth, Warwickshire). At Kenilworth walls near 'le Jutynge Place' were repaired in 1482–83 for £1 0 6d but the reference gives no clear indication of the location of this area;[104] the likelihood is that the tiltyard on top of the dam was only widened to create a platform wide enough for tilting in the mid sixteenth century.[105] At Dartington Hall, Devon, a non-defended mansion house of the late fourteenth century built by John Holand, earl of Huntington, a level area flanked by terraces to the south of the hall has traditionally been identified as a late medieval tournament ground [fig. 9]. John Holand was a well-known jouster whose exploits were recorded by Froissart, while an inventory of 1400 lists jousting armour at Dartington, although the interpretation that he had a little tiltyard adjacent to his residence is now seen as fanciful as this space instead seems to be a post-medieval garden feature.[106] A similar case in point is the reputed tournament ground at the back of Holt castle, Denbighshire.[107] This is not to say that John Holand's residence at Dartington was not embedded within a landscape commensurate with its status: Anthony Emery has suggested that the hall was set within a designed landscape comprising on one side an ordered setting including a garden and orchard, and on the other a wilderness-style deer park against the rugged backdrop of Dartmoor.[108]

[103] *The History of the King's Works,* ed. R. A. Brown, H. M. Colvin and A. J. Taylor, vol. I (London, 1963), p. 227.

[104] Demidowicz, 'The North Court Prior to Leicester's Work', p. 37.

[105] See figure 2. R. K. Morris, '"I was never more in love with an olde howse nor never newe worke coulde be better bestowed": The Earl of Leicester's Remodelling of Kenilworth Castle for Queen Elizabeth I', *Antiquaries Journal* 89 (2009), pp. 247–9.

[106] For the identification of the site as a tournament ground, see A. Emery, 'Dartington Hall, Devon', *Archaeological Journal* 115 (1958), pp. 201–2; for re-appraisal, see C. Platt, 'Excavations at Dartington Hall, 1962', *Archaeological Journal* 119 (1962), p. 219; A. Emery, 'Dartington Hall, Devonshire', in *Studies in Medieval Domestic Architecture*, ed. M. J. Swanton (London, 1975), pp. 151–2.

[107] A. Emery, *Greater Medieval Houses of England and Wales 1300–1500. Volume II, East Anglia, Central England and Wales* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 398.

[108] A. Emery, 'Dartington Hall: A Mirror of the Nobility in Late Medieval Devon', *Archaeological Journal* 164 (2007), pp. 242–7.

9 Dartington Hall, Devon, showing the alleged tiltyard in the foreground

The entire ensemble was 'imbued with meaning that contributed to the totality of the aristocratic setting and lifestyle'.[109]

Positive proof that reputed tiltyards near residences were ever actually used for medieval tournaments is hard to find, and it is only really in the sixteenth century that we can be confident that permanent bespoke tiltyards were built. At Bradgate Park, Leicestershire, the brick-walled enclosure known as the Tiltyard was established adjacent to the mansion house there by the first earl of Dorset *c.* 1500 and was later converted into formal gardens [fig. 10]. The whole complex survives well as earthworks set within a deer park. Henry VIII's great palace-building programme saw tiltyards integrated into the settings of palaces around London; they formed elements within complex landscapes intended for sport, pleasure and display, and some were accompanied by viewing stands, although we should be cautious in assuming that these facilities were frequently used as intended.[110] In the case of Hampton Court Palace, for example, the expansive tiltyards built for Henry VIII from 1537 on a plot of 450×100ft – its width being to accommodate viewing towers resembling miniature artillery fortresses, some

[109] Emery, 'Dartington Hall: A Mirror of the Nobility in Late Medieval Devon', p. 246.
[110] P. Henderson, *The Tudor House and Garden: Architecture and Landscape in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (New Haven and London, 2005), pp. 76–9.

10 Tiltyard at Bradgate Park, Leicestershire

of them built on the sites of earlier herbers – were never actually used by the king and saw their first use in Elizabeth I's reign.[111]

Conclusion

The chivalric landscape was on the one hand a construction of the mind but, on the other, simultaneously rooted in experiences of the real world. The central aim of this chapter has been to show that landscapes should be seen as an essential part of the materialisation of chivalric culture. While we are familiar with how seals, arms and armour and funerary monuments reflect the chivalric self-image, comparable insight into the chivalric landscape has been rare, although this chapter has hopefully established some starting points for future study and made the case that landscape should be firmly part of the future agenda for studies of chivalry.

Given how notoriously elusive the code of chivalry is to define, the concept of a chivalric landscape is as abstract as it is broad, but some essential characteristics have been identified here. Perhaps the most important of these is the notion that chivalric landscapes presented an idealised image, and that there existed an underlying concept of what sorts of living and material elements

[111] S. Thurley, *Hampton Court: A Social and Architectural History* (New Haven and London, 2003), pp. 83–4, 95.

should be visible in the environs of a noble building. In terms of the arrangement of features on the ground, a recurring theme is that of the nesting of progressively more exclusive spaces one inside the other, accordingly to courtly codes of status and hierarchy. While the detail of the arrangements clearly depended on date, location and social status, it might be appropriate to think of an underlying mental template that conditioned the configuration of, for example, pleasure grounds and inner parks within surrounding deer parks, and dictated the positioning of gardens relative to domestic lodgings. Careful management of how these spaces could be viewed, from where and by whom, is another hallmark of such environments. There was no single chivalric landscape but several, set one inside the other, extending to embrace buildings, gardens, water features, agricultural facilities, hunting spaces, tournament sites and battlefields. Crucially, we need to understand chivalric landscapes as more than merely the background for chivalric deeds and behaviour. Managed and manipulated in intricate ways, the environments around castles and palaces were also instrumental in the development and expression of chivalry. Further, they provide a means of relating the world of chivalry to the environment outside the immediate courtly setting.

11

Gendered Chivalry

LOUISE J. WILKINSON

Born into a kingdom where the king prohibited female inheritance, the eponymous heroine of the thirteenth-century Old French romance *Silence* was raised as a boy, much to the frustration of Nature and satisfaction of Nurture. Silence's education in masculine courtly behaviour and in the arts of war as her father's only heir was so successful that 'He (*sic*) [became] … a valiant and noble knight;/ no king or count was ever better' ('Chevaliers est vallans et buens,/ Mellor n'engendra rois ne cuens').[1] Silence's true gender was only unmasked when he/she captured the prophet Merlin, who could only be seized if tricked by a woman. At the end of the tale, Nature recovered 'her rights' ('sa droiture') over Silence's body and restored her feminine appearance, whereupon Silence, who became known as *Silentia* rather than *Silentius*, abandoned her masculine knightly attire and married the king.[2]

With its focus on violence, power and knighthood, chivalry appears first and foremost as a masculine social ideal in both medieval literature and life.[3] Carrying arms and engaging personally in knightly forms of combat were male preserves; it was unnatural for women to participate in them. As Nature admonished Silence, before she reassumed her true gender:

> 'It's a very nasty thing you're doing to me,
> leading this sort of life.
> You [as a woman] have no business going off into the forest,
> jousting, hunting, shooting off arrows.
> Desist from all of this!' ...
> 'Go to a chamber and learn to sew!'[4]

[1] *Silence: A Thirteenth-Century French Romance*, ed. and trans. S. Roche-Mahdi (East Lansing, MI, 1992), pp. 242–3, lines 5179–80.

[2] *Silence*, pp. 312–13, lines 6664–80.

[3] For a brief, but measured, discussion of the value of literature as a historical source, see J. Bumke, *Courtly Culture: Literature and Society in the High Middle Ages* (London, 2000), p. 7.

[4] '"Tu me fais, certes, grant laidure/ Quant tu maintiens tel noreture./ Ne dois pas en bos converser,/ Lancier, ne traire, ne berser./ Tol toi de chi!" .../ "Va en la cambre a la costure,/ Cho violt de nature li us."' *Silence*, pp. 118–19, lines 2523–9.

Yet the centrality of aristocratic ladies to courtly life and lordship allowed women to participate in chivalric culture in ways that were not entirely divorced from those of their male kin. Although women often featured in romances as lovers or unattainable figures for whom aristocratic men performed various feats of arms, they also appeared as agents, rather than as purely passive recipients of male affection or admiration. This chapter considers how far chivalric practices, values and modes of conduct were gendered, and explores how far female experiences differed from those of men between the twelfth and early fourteenth centuries. It adopts a broad definition of chivalry that encompasses the lifestyles and ideals of behaviour of those persons who belonged to the aristocracy.[5] It also recognises that chivalric literature was interwoven with gendered ideas and stereotypes that reflected many of the tenets of elite society.

Admittedly, the place of women in chivalric culture has attracted the attention of a growing body of scholars over the last fifty years, in ways that have marginalised their social importance. In the late 1960s, John Benton argued that chivalry's stress on courtesy as a masculine social code simply served to emphasise women's place as objects, 'sexual or otherwise', in a strongly patriarchal society, rather than elevating their status in relation to that of men.[6] In a similar fashion, the works of the French writer Georges Duby downplayed the importance of women in a chivalric culture, where men carried arms and exercised the power of command symbolically and practically through the sword.[7] Somewhat frustratingly, women did not assume a particularly prominent presence in Maurice Keen's classic study, *Chivalry*. They appeared in the limited contexts of discussions of chivalric treatises by Ramon Llull and Geoffrey de Charny, as figures deserving of masculine, knightly protection or affection.[8] They featured elsewhere in Keen's work as objects of adoration in courtly love, as women to whom knights offered faithful, if amorous and (ideally) chaste service, which was reflected, primarily, in troubadour lyrics and other literary works.[9]

The question of women's status has been addressed more recently in Richard Kaeuper's *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe* and his *Medieval Chivalry*, primarily in connection with chivalry's role in providing 'a framework for love and the relationship between the sexes'.[10] Kaeuper's studies tend to minimalise the importance of women in chivalry, acknowledging, on the one hand, how the protection of women was idealised in a range of literary texts, but also, on the

[5] M. Keen, *Chivalry* (London, 1984), pp. 16–17, 145.

[6] J. Benton, 'Clio and Venus: An Historical View of Medieval Love', in *The Meaning of Courtly Love*, ed. F. X. Newman (Albany, NY, 1968), p. 35.

[7] See, for example, G. Duby, 'Women and Power', in *Cultures of Power: Lordship, Status and Process in Twelfth-Century Europe*, ed. T. N. Bisson (Philadelphia, PA, 1995), pp. 73–4.

[8] Keen, *Chivalry*, pp. 9, 14. See also p. 70.

[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 30, 56, 91, 111, 116. R. W. Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe* (Oxford, 1999), ch. 10, esp. p. 209.

other, arguing that chivalry as a form of social conduct worked to their disadvantage. For Kaeuper, chivalry's emphasis on love offered men 'a more refined form of male dominance' than other, more physical, forms of 'subjection'.[11] Male lords essentially utilised discourses of amorous love in order to reinforce their own social superiority and enhance the prestige of their martial lifestyles.[12] Similar sentiments permeate Nigel Saul's discussion of women and chivalry.[13] Saul cautioned that chivalry, in spite of its emphasis on knights performing deeds for aristocratic ladies, did not lead to greater equality between the sexes. On the contrary, it was a 'strongly masculine world', in which 'women more usually occupied a position of subjection and subordination', and where women frequently inhabited a place 'on the sidelines' of aristocratic ceremony and life as 'spectators' rather than 'participants'.[14]

Yet, as David Crouch observed in connection with the attendance of elite women at tournaments, 'The role of the spectator is not necessarily a passive one.'[15] While the views of Keen, Kaeuper and Saul all have their merits, especially in the context of medieval Christian discourses on patriarchy, other scholars have suggested that elite women, in a culture where ladies participated in courtly culture and might govern great honours as their husbands' helpers or in their own right as widows, influenced the contents of contemporary romances and lyric poems to suit their own interests as sponsors and readers. The marginalisation of women in chivalric culture is no longer accepted quite so readily as it was in the past. Roberta Krueger's study of Old French romances has, for example, questioned whether women readers were passively accepting of 'literary misogyny', suggesting instead that antifeminist depictions of women provoked responses of 'resistance'.[16] More recently Amy Vines has argued that late medieval romances served 'as models of cultural, intellectual, and social authority', from which real women drew inspiration and whose male authors understood the importance of depicting female characters as influential figures in chivalric tales, like their real-life female patrons.[17] This chapter argues that women had a central, if subordinate, role to play in the chivalric culture of western Europe in the middle ages.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 230.
[12] R. W. Kaeuper, *Medieval Chivalry* (Cambridge, 2016), p. 350.
[13] N. Saul, *For Honour and Fame: Chivalry in England, 1066–1500* (London, 2012), pp. 262–82.
[14] *Ibid.*, p. 270.
[15] D. Crouch, *The Birth of Nobility: Constructing Aristocracy in England and France, 900–1300* (Harlow, 2005), p. 319.
[16] R. L. Krueger, *Women Readers and the Ideology of Gender in Old French Verse Romance* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 99.
[17] A. N. Vines, *Women's Power in Late Medieval Romance* (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 2–3, 141.

The Chivalric Lifestyle: Women, Tournaments and War

In view of its close association with feats of arms, chivalry's masculine focus was, perhaps, only to be expected. After all, the word 'chivalry' derived from the gendered French term for knight, *chevalier*, a man who fought as a mounted, armed warrior and who had been '"dubbed" to knighthood'.[18] Aristocratic women did not, in reality, train to become, or serve as, knights. In the anonymously authored *lai* of *Mantel*, dating from the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, it was the masculine knights of King Arthur's court who received:

> An abundance of new armour
> And magnificent horses from Spain,
> Lombardy and Germany.[19]

The maidens who had accompanied these men received, instead, just 'Robes', together with bejewelled 'Belts, clasps and rings' ('Ceintures, fermaus et aneaus'), reflecting their engagement in more peaceful, courtly and domestic pursuits.[20] In Geoffrey de Charny's *Livre de chevalerie*, written in the mid fourteenth century, this author argued that young elite women should be dressed richly and beautifully to achieve better marriages and please their husbands.[21] As de Charny explained, it was easier for men's virtues and abilities to become known than it was for women's, since women did not joust and did not bear arms, but spent more time at home in the course of their daily lives, where they could devote attention to their appearance.[22] Even in the 'Storming' or 'Siege of the Castle of Love', an allegorically themed entertainment that sometimes took place during tournaments and which involved a temporary wooden castle structure being defended by ladies against knights, the women were armed with roses and other flowers rather than weapons.[23] Images of this festivity were a popular theme for carved, secular ivory mirror backs or cases produced in France in the early to mid fourteenth century. The Victoria and Albert Museum in London owns two such objects, together with a casket, depicting images associated with

[18] For discussion, see Keen, *Chivalry*, pp. 1–2.

[19] 'Et grant plenté d'armes noveles,/ Et molt riches chevaus d'Espaingne,/ De Lombardie et d'Alemaingne.' *French Arthurian Literature V: The Lay of Mantel*, ed. and trans. G. S. Burgess and L. C. Brook (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 62–3, lines 52–4.

[20] *Ibid.*, pp. 60–1, lines 30–1, 40–3.

[21] *The Book of Chivalry of Geoffroi de Charny: Text, Context, and Translation*, ed. and trans. R. W. Kaeuper and E. Kennedy (Philadelphia, PA, 1996), pp. 190–3, lines 1–11.

[22] *Ibid.*, pp. 192–3, lines 13–24.

[23] H. Nickel, 'The Tournament: An Historical Sketch', in *The Study of Chivalry*, ed. H. Chickering and T. H. Seiler (Kalamazoo, MI, 1988), pp. 234–6 and fig. 10 (a lid of an ivory casket, depicting the 'Storming of the Castle of Love').

1 'Storming on the Castle of Love', Mirror Case, Paris, second quarter of the fourteenth century

this siege, which individually probably belonged to a noblewoman or nobleman's *trousse de toilette* [fig. 1].[24]

As the existence of the 'Storming of the Castle of Love' implies, there was a feminine presence at tournaments, which allowed women to observe and

[24] See Victoria and Albert Museum, Mirror Case, Museum number 1617–1855, available at http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O120162/storming-on-the-castle-of-mirror-case-unknown/ (accessed 31/01/2018); Mirror Back, Museum number A.561-1910', available at http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O88657/attack-on-the-castle-of-mirror-back-unknown/ (accessed 31/1/2018); Casket, Museum number 146-1866, available at http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O90898/scenes-from-romance-literature-casket-unknown/ (accessed 31/1/2018). See also R. S. Loomis, 'The Allegorical Siege in the Art of the Middle Ages', *American Journal of Archaeology* 23 (1919), pp. 255–69, which includes some evocative images, including two from the Peterborough and Luttrell Psalters.

participate in aspects of the social conventions around knighthood. In 1214, the Italian chronicler Rolandino of Padua recorded the building of a wooden castle at a festival in the fields outside Treviso, which was defended by young noblewomen.[25] Admittedly, ladies were curiously absent as onlookers in contemporary descriptions of many tournaments. The Anglo-Norman verse life of William Marshal (d. 1219), earl of Pembroke and regent of England, a renowned knight who enjoyed and competed in tournaments in France, infrequently mentions the presence of women.[26] Their presence is seldom mentioned at events held in thirteenth-century England. The *Flores Historiarum* of the St Albans chronicler, Roger of Wendover, did, however, preserve the text of a letter outlining a tournament planned by the barons near London in the summer of 1215, and which informed its recipient that the person who performed the best 'will receive a bear, which a certain lady will send to the tournament' ('habebit ursum, quem domina quædam mittet ad torneamentum').[27] Although the lady's name is not recorded, her role as prize-giver suggests that she may have been a female sponsor or patron of the event in question. Wendover's successor at St Albans, Matthew Paris, said nothing about the attendance of women at the tournaments held at Newbury (Berkshire) 'between the knights of England' ('inter milites Angliae') in 1248, at Brackley (Northamptonshire) in 1249, at Rochester (Kent) in 1251, and at Blyth (Nottinghamshire) in 1256.[28]

The absence of references to women, even as spectators, at real-life tournaments and other related entertainments is a little misleading. Indeed, it is likely that their presence at such assemblies, where they might watch from windows, stands and walls, was so commonplace that it often went unrecorded. The works of other writers provide glimpses of tournaments as forms of elite entertainment for members of both sexes. Thomas Wykes describes how, in 1279, an 'innumerable multitude of knights and ladies came together at Kenilworth' ('innumerabili multitudine militum et dominarum apud Kenillewrthe congregata') for a Round Table hosted by Roger de Mortimer, where they enjoyed a military event, inspired by King Arthur, which involved jousting, feasting and

[25] W. E. Burgwinkle, *Love for Sale: Materialist Readings of the Troubadour Razo Corpus* (London, 1997), pp. 58–9. On this type of entertainment's spiritual and sexual symbolism and significance, see A. Wheatley, *The Idea of the Castle in Medieval England* (York, 2004), pp. 103–7.

[26] For discussion, see N. Denholm-Young, 'The Tournament in the Thirteenth Century', in *Studies in Medieval History presented to Frederick Maurice Powicke*, ed. R. W. Hunt, W. A. Pantin and R. W. Southern (Oxford, 1948), pp. 242–3.

[27] *Rogeri de Wendover Liber qui dicitur Flores Historiarum*, ed. H. G. Hewlett, Rolls Series, 3 vols (London, 1886–89), II, pp. 137–8.

[28] *Matthæi Parisiensis, Monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica Majora*, ed. H. R. Luard, Rolls Series, 7 vols (London, 1872–83), V, pp. 17, 83, 265, 557.

dancing.[29] In 1280, the ladies who attended a tournament at Chauvency in the duchy of Lorraine, and who witnessed a particularly risky encounter between two knights, were addressed in a speech given by a senior herald.[30] The Dunstable annalist, whose own priory was situated near a popular thirteenth-century tournament location,[31] recorded the death of John, duke of Brabant, in 1294 from fatal wounds sustained at a tournament.[32] This tournament had been held in honour and in the presence of King Edward I of England's daughter, Eleanor, the new countess of Bar, following her arrival in her husband's territories.[33] Literary works reinforce this picture of feminine involvement. Already by 1135, Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* described how the ladies of King Arthur's court watched the warlike games that took place outside Caerleon from its walls.[34] Ladies were, similarly, mentioned sitting around the side of a jousting site in the thirteenth-century French epic *Sone de Nansay*.[35]

Even if ladies did not fight as knights in tournaments, they may occasionally have assisted, perhaps symbolically, in the arming of their menfolk – their husbands or preferred champions. Although the heavy lifting – such as the fitting of chainmail and the equipping and handling of the destrier – was conventionally reserved for squires and other male servants, women were shown in medieval manuscripts passing helms and shields to combatants. The artist of the *Codex Manesse* of *c*. 1300–40, for example, portrayed Herr Otto vom Turne accepting his helm from one well-dressed lady and his shield from another.[36] In another image in this work, Herr Winli, a German knight, was shown being presented with a helm from a well-dressed lady; in the same scene, another richly attired woman offered up his shield and a ring, the latter presumably as a token of her esteem, while his groom handled his destrier.[37] There is also the well-known, framed

[29] 'Chronicon vulgo dictum Thomæ Wykes', in *Annales monastici*, ed. H. R. Luard, Rolls Series, 5 vols (London, 1864–9), IV, pp. 281–2. See also *Sir Thomas de Gray, Scalacronica, 1272–1363*, ed. and trans. A. King (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 10–11, for a brief description of Mortimer's Round Table, which was attended by one hundred knights and was a 'festival of arms of peace' ('reuel darmes de piese').

[30] Crouch, *Birth of Nobility*, pp. 319–20.

[31] See, for example, 'Annales prioratus de Dunstaplia', *Annales monastici*, III, pp. 283, 285, 373.

[32] 'Annales prioratus de Dunstaplia', pp. 388–9.

[33] *Balduini Ninovensis Chronicon*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptorum Tomus XXV (Hannover, 1853), p. 546.

[34] *Geoffrey of Monmouth: The History of the Kings of Britain*, ed. M. D. Reeve, trans. N. Wright (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 212–15, lines 394–5.

[35] Discussed in Bumke, *Courtly Culture*, p. 262.

[36] Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, Cod. Pal. germ. 848 ('Codex Manesse'), fol. 194r, available at http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/touch/cpg848/#page/391 (accessed 31/1/2018).

[37] Cod. Pal. germ. 848 ('Codex Manesse'), fol. 231r, available at http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/touch/cpg848/#page/464 (accessed 31/1/2018).

miniature in the famous psalter of Sir Geoffrey Luttrell (d. 1345), mounted on a destrier, receiving his helm and his shield from his wife and daughter-in-law.[38]

Knights, in literature and life, sometimes fought for the love or admiration of noblewomen as part of the pageantry of courtly rituals and festivities. Geoffrey of Monmouth attempted to convey to his readers the sophistication of Britain's inhabitants under King Arthur in terms of the behaviour of its knights towards women: 'All its doughty knights wore clothes and armour of a single colour', while 'Its elegant ladies, similarly dressed, spurned the love of any man who had not proved himself three times in battle.'[39] According to this author, such behaviour ensured that the ladies remained 'chaste and better women' ('castae et meliores'), while the knights behaved with greater probity.[40] In the *lai* of *Chaitivel*, written by Marie de France in the late twelfth century, four brave and valiant Breton knights each performed feats of arms in order to impress a beautiful lady. Each carried a token of her esteem into battle, 'A ring, sleeve or pennant' ('Anel ou mance u gumfanun'), until three of the four men were fatally wounded in a tournament held at Nantes, whereupon the lady regretted her actions.[41] The author of the *Scalacronica* observed how, at 'a great feast of lords and ladies in the county of Lincoln' ('vn graunt fest dez seignurs et dames en le Counte de Nichol') in 1319, Sir William Marmion was presented with 'a war helm, with a crest of gilded wing' by a damsel on behalf of her mistress ('vn healme de guerre, od vn tymbre de vn eel endorez').[42] In the letter that accompanied this gift, the lady donor commanded that the helm should become famous, presumably through its wearer's feats of arms, when Marmion went to 'the most perilous place in Great Britain' ('le plus perilous auenturous lieu du pais').[43] Marmion later wore the helm given by his lady admirer at the siege of Norham castle in Northumberland, engaging in mounted, armed combat with the king's enemies, and narrowly escaping the encounter with his life.[44]

[38] See the Frontispiece to this volume. London, British Library, Additional MS 42130 ('The Luttrell Psalter'), fol. 202v, available at http://www.bl.uk/turning-the-pages/?id=a0f935d0-a678-11db-83e4-0050c2490048&type=book (accessed 31/1/2018).

[39] 'Quicumque uero famosus probitate miles in eadem erat unius coloris uestibus atque armis utebatur. Facetae etiam mulieres, consimilia indumenta habentes, nullius amorem habere dignabantur nisi tercio in milicia probatus esset': *Geoffrey of Monmouth, History*, pp. 212–13, lines 387–90.

[40] *Geoffrey of Monmouth, History*, pp. 212–13, lines 390–1.

[41] 'Chaitivel' in *Marie de France, Lais*, ed. A. Ewert, with an introduction and notes by G. Burgess (London, 1995), pp. 116–19, lines 9–142, esp. line 69.

[42] *Sir Thomas de Gray, Scalacronica*, pp. 80–1.

[43] *Ibid.*, pp. 80–1.

[44] *de Gray, Scalacronica*, pp. 80–3. For discussion of this episode, see A. King, 'A Helm with a Crest of Gold: The Order of Chivalry in Thomas Gray's *Scalacronica*', in *Fourteenth Century England I*, ed. N. Saul (Woodbridge, 2000), p. 21. I am grateful to Dr King for bringing this episode to my attention.

Such imagery and ideas relating to knightly service performed for ladies permeated religious works for women, presumably because they resonated with aspects of chivalric culture to which this predominantly wellborn female readership could relate. In part seven of the *Ancrene Wisse*, a handbook for English anchoresses written in the early thirteenth century, Jesus himself was compared to a 'noble suitor' ('noble wohere') for women religious.[45] In a parable included for the spiritual edification of his audience, the author related the tale of 'a lady' ('A leafdi') who found herself penniless and assailed by enemies 'in a castle of earth' ('an eorthene castel').[46] She received presents, supplies and military aid from a king who had fallen in love with her, but to whose affection she was immune, even when he pressed his suit with tenderness in person. Foreseeing his own death, the king sought the lady's love after his demise, whereupon he was restored, miraculously, to life. As the author explained, the king was, in fact, Jesus, who sought to demonstrate he was worthy of the lady's love through 'feats of arms … as was the custom of knights once upon a time' ('thurh cnihtschipe …, as weren sum-hwile cnihtes i-wunet to donne').[47] In his passion, Jesus had his shield – that is, his body – pierced like that of a knight at a tournament 'for love of his lady' ('for his leoves luve').[48]

While it is, indeed, questionable whether the amorous admiration of ladies that could apparently inspire bravery at tournaments transformed their social position in relation to men in reality, aristocratic women were sometimes drawn into warfare. The ladies of great honours might be called upon to defend their homes – usually castles – and family interests against external threats from hostile forces. The involvement of royal and aristocratic women in defensive sieges was a long-running literary and historical motif, with antecedents in tales of classical antiquity.[49] Ladies might, on occasion, oversee the keeping of castles as *châtelaines* – either as wives who acted in the absence of their husbands or as widows who controlled fortresses in their own right, sometimes as the guardians of minors.[50] The author of the *History of William Marshal* recalled the role of

[45] *Ancrene Wisse*, ed. R. Hasenfratz, TEAMS Middle English Text Series (Kalamazoo, MI, 2000), part 7, line 83, available at http://d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/text/hasenfratz-ancrene-wisse-part-seven (accessed 31/1/2018); *Ancrene Wisse: Guide for Anchoresses*, ed. and trans. B. Millet (Exeter, 2009), pp. 146–7.

[46] *Ancrene Wisse*, ed. Hasenfratz, part 7, lines 59–60; *Ancrene Wisse*, ed. and trans. Millet, pp. 146–7.

[47] *Ancrene Wisse*, ed. Hasenfratz, part 7, lines 84–5; *Ancrene Wisse*, ed. and trans. Millet, pp. 146–7.

[48] *Ancrene Wisse*, ed. Hasenfratz, part 7, lines 85–6; *Ancrene Wisse*, ed. and trans. Millet, pp. 146–7.

[49] P. Stafford, *Queens, Concubines and Dowagers: The Queen's Wife in the Early Middle Ages* (London, 1983), pp. 117–20.

[50] For an excellent discussion, see C. Coulson, *Castles in Medieval Society: Fortresses in England, France, and Ireland in the Central Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 297–383, esp. pp. 297–338.

Lady Nicholaa de la Haye, the constable of Lincoln castle and the widowed heiress of the barony of Brattleby, in defending this particular stronghold during the battle of Lincoln on 20 May 1217. The bishop of Winchester, as one of the leaders of a great royalist relief force, entered the castle's keep, and:

> There he found that worthy lady
> (may God protect her in body and soul!)
> who was its castellan
> and was defending it to the very best of her ability.
> The lady was pleased
> and was full of joy at his arrival,
> and he gave her great comfort
> through the news he brought her.[51]

Although Lady Nicholaa's 'rescue' with the bishop's aid served the *History*'s storyline well, the author expressed no surprise that a woman fulfilled the functions of a castellan. The *History*'s author recounted how another combatant that day, Sir Richard of Sandford, was accompanied by his wife and saved his spouse from harm. When challenged to leave his wife behind, as the rebels took flight, Sir Richard set his wife on the ground, dealt with his knightly opponent, and then had her remount, so he could carry her away from the battle.[52] During the siege of Norham in 1319, 'The women of the castle' ('Lez femmes du chastelle') were described bringing horses to the men, so that they could ride out against the Scots.[53] The defence of a family residence, of family property and interests, and of members of one's household brought warfare, its conduct and its social ethos into a domestic context, and more firmly into the domain of the lady.

Chivalric Values: Gender, Identity and Nobility

The strong association between the trappings of knighthood and aristocratic status allowed women other ways in which they might engage with chivalric culture, even as non-combatants. The transformation of knighthood into a noble order and marker of elite rank in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries served ladies' interests as members of lordly families.[54] The growing emphasis on

[51] 'Iloec trova la boene dame,/ Que Dex gard en cors e en ame,/ Qui dame cel chastel esteit,/ A son poeir le defendit./ Bien s'en tint la dame avenue,/ Molt se heta da sa venue,/ E il molt le conforta/ Des noveles qu'il aporta'. *History of William Marshal,* ed. A. J. Holden, trans. S. Gregory, 3 vols (London, 2002–06), II, pp. 326–7, lines 16491–8.

[52] *History of William Marshal*, II, pp. 350–3, lines 16976–96.

[53] *de Gray, Scalacronica*, pp. 82–3.

[54] For this development in an English context, see, for example, D. Crouch, *The Image of Aristocracy in Britain, 1000–1300* (London, 1992), pp. 100–12; D. Crouch, *The English Aristocracy, 1070–1272: A Social Transformation* (London, 2011), pp. 13–19, 51–5.

nobility of birth as a component of chivalry, through the possession of knightly or baronial ancestors and distinguished bloodlines, enabled women to embrace the martial symbolism of chivalry as well if they so wished.[55] To be noble by birth, a man or a woman needed to be able to demonstrate his or her descent from aristocratic kin.[56] The value that might be placed on a woman's standing by noble dynasties should not be underestimated. *La Règle du Temple*, as it was adapted in the thirteenth century, laid down that a knight who aspired to join the order needed to show that his father was a knight ('chevalier'), his mother was a lady ('dame'), and that he was descended in the paternal line from knights ('ses peres soit de lignage de chevaliers').[57] According to the anonymous author of *Schwester Katrei* (*Sister Catherine*), an early-fourteenth-century religious treatise, Christ himself was 'the noblest human' ('der edelste mensch') in the history of mankind, since he claimed descent 'from a royal line of seventy-two' ('von zwein und sibenczig fürsten') through Mary's blood.[58]

The spread of heraldry as a form of visual identification connected to noble, dynastic status that existed away from the battlefield or tournament ground was especially important for medieval women, since it allowed both knights and ladies to display coats of arms in a range of settings. Between the second half of the twelfth century and the first quarter of the thirteenth, the appearance of coats of arms on aristocratic seals extended to include those of aristocratic women.[59] Over the next century or so, heraldry came to occupy a prominent position on the seals of wellborn women as a means of social display.[60] While it was common for noble lords across western Europe to appear as mounted, armed knights on their seals, their wives tended to adopt shields on their seals, with coats of arms that advertised their blood and marital connections to exalted ancestors and other kin. Some ladies displayed a single coat of arms on their seals

[55] On heraldry, see Keen, *Chivalry*, ch. 7.

[56] *Ibid.*, p. 143.

[57] *La Règle du Temple* (Paris, 1886), p. 343, cap. 673. For discussion, see Keen, *Chivalry*, p. 144.

[58] 'Schwester Katrei/Sister Catherine', in *Ladies, Whores, and Holy Women: A Sourcebook in Courtly, Religious, and Urban Cultures of Late Medieval Germany*, ed. and trans. A. M. Rasmussen and S. Westphal-Wihl, Medieval German Texts in Bilingual Editions V (Kalamazoo, MI, 2010), pp. 58–9.

[59] B. Bedos Rezak, 'Medieval Seals and the Structure of Chivalric Society', in *The Study of Chivalry*, ed. Chickering and Seiler, p. 341.

[60] See, for example, P. Coss, *The Lady in Medieval England, 1000–1500* (Stroud, 1998), pp. 38–47; S. M. Johns, *Noblewomen, Aristocracy and Power in the Anglo-Norman Realm* (Manchester, 2003), ch. 7, appendix 1; A. Ailes, 'Armorial Portrait Seals of Medieval Noblewomen – Examples in the Public Record Office', in *Tribute to an Armorist*, ed. J. Campbell-Kease (London, 2000), pp. 218–34; E. Danbury, 'Queens and Powerful Women: Image and Authority', in *Good Impressions: Image and Authority in Medieval Seals*, ed. N. Adams, J. Cherry and J. Robinson, British Museum Research Publication 168 (London, 2008), pp. 17–24.

and/or counterseals, while others used them to advertise multiple connections via birth and marriage. The late-twelfth-century seal employed by Matilda, the second wife of Philip d'Alsace, count of Flanders, and daughter of King Alfonso I of Portugal, depicted a finely dressed lady holding a flower in her left hand. The countess's counterseal, however, was a shield decorated with five miniature shields arranged in a cross. These represented the arms of Portugal, denoting her natal connections with the Portuguese throne.[61] The late-thirteenth-century portrait seal of Jeanne de Châtillon, countess of Blois and Alençon, preserved in the Archives départementales de la Somme, portrayed a finely dressed woman standing under an arch, with a shield attached to the columns on either side of her.[62] Jeanne was the daughter of Jean, count of Blois and Chartres, and wife of Peter of Alençon, a brother of King Philip III of France.[63] On her right-hand side, the side towards which the countess was inclined, was a shield decorated with fleurs-de-lys, the arms of her husband Alençon, and on the left, a shield decorated with three pales of vair *au chef*, the arms of her natal family of Châtillon.[64]

Other ladies, like Matilda, the widow of Sir Robert de Hilton and Sir Robert de Tillol, two English knights, and the daughter and co-heiress of Robert de Lascelles, employed seals that eschewed a personal portrait and displayed shields on their own. Matilda's round seal, which was attached to a document issued in 1324, bore the impression of three shields arranged in a circle. The shield at the top was adorned with the arms of the Lascelles family, her birth kin, while the lower shield on the right bore the arms of the Tillols and that on the left the arms of the Hiltons, recalling her marital connections.[65] The placement of Matilda's natal arms physically above those of her dead husbands implies, perhaps, that Matilda saw her own background as more prestigious than theirs. Other noblewomen sometimes adopted equestrian seals – like that used in 1235 by Mainsende, lady of Gommegnies in Flanders, the wife of Gobert de Gommegnies. On her seal, Mainsende appeared riding a horse, with a falcon perched on one hand, and a large shield behind her and the horse, bearing her husband's arms.[66]

[61] G. Demay, *Inventaire des Sceaux de la Flandre, Tome Premier* (Paris, 1873), p. 25 nos 141 and 142 (and plates).

[62] Archives départementales de la Somme, 4G_SC_1581/1b, available at http://recherche.archives.somme.fr/ark:/58483/a011261413567ihP3Xc (accessed 31/1/2018).

[63] *Gesta Philippi Tertii Francorum Regis*, ed. M. M. Danou and J. Naudet, Recueil des historiens des Gaules de la France, Tome XX (Paris, 1840), p. 492.

[64] Archives départementales de la Somme, 4G_SC_1581/1, available at http://recherche.archives.somme.fr/ark:/58483/a011261413567ihP3Xc (accessed 31/1/2018).

[65] *The Topographer and Genealogist, Volume I*, ed. J. Gouch Nichols (London, 1846), pp. 217–19.

[66] Demay, *Inventaire des Sceaux de la Flandre*, p. 122 no. 961 (and plate). For her husband's arms, see p. 121 no. 960, which also appeared on her counterseal.

Ladies also engaged with heraldry by adopting armorial devices on clothing in artistic representation and in life. The mascles of the de Quincy family's coat of arms, for example, decorated (or blazoned) the dress of Margaret (d. 1235), daughter and co-heiress of Robert IV, earl of Leicester, and widow of Saher de Quincy, earl of Winchester, on her seal.[67] The Quincy mascles appeared, similarly, on the shield that Margaret's second surviving son and heir, Roger de Quincy (d. 1264), employed on his seal on which he was depicted fighting a lion rampant.[68] They also ornamented the cloak of a lady, who was probably Roger's third wife, Eleanor (d. 1274), in the donor portrait of the *Lambeth Apocalypse* (*c.* 1252–67).[69] In a similar fashion, the donor images of the *Ormesby Psalter*, an English manuscript associated with the baronial families of Bardolf and Foliot during its second phase of production, included a well-dressed woman on the right wearing a headdress, whose blue gown was decorated with flowers associated with the Bardolf family, while the person opposite her, on the left, wore a red robe with the white bend associated with the Foliot family.[70]

Coats of arms were embroidered on vestments and other types of clothing associated with aristocratic female patronesses. In 1319, Lady Margery, the second wife of Nicholas de Crioll, bequeathed to her chapel at Corby (Northamptonshire) various embroidered vestments, together with four towels, one pair of which bore 'the arms of Leybourn' ('armes de Leybourn'), in remembrance for her soul.[71] The Clare chasuble, a particularly fine example of *Opus Anglicanum* that was embroidered with silver gilt and silver thread between 1272 and 1294, was originally decorated with the arms of Margaret de Clare's father, her mother Matilda de Lacy's family, and those of her husband, Edmund, second earl of Cornwall.[72] Heraldic designs also decorated caskets, cup lids and other objects within aristocratic households. An enamel, gold and silver cup lid from around the year 1300, now in the possession of All Souls College, Oxford, bears

[67] G. Demay, *Inventaire des Sceaux de la Normandie* (Paris, 1881), p. 9 no. 56; *Art in the Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England, 1200–1400*, ed. J. Alexander and P. Binski (London, 1987), pp. 251–2 no. 141. Mascles also featured in the design of the seal employed by Hawise of Chester, countess of Lincoln, the widow of Margaret's eldest son and heir Robert de Quincy, who predeceased his parents. Hawise's seal, attached to a charter granting property to nuns in Lincolnshire, depicted a stag in the centre, with two mascles – one above the stag and one below: *The Topographer and Genealogist, Volume I*, ed. Gough Nichols, p. 320.

[68] *Art in the Age of Chivalry*, ed. Alexander and Binski, p. 252 no. 143.

[69] London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 209, fol. 48r.

[70] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 366, fol. 9v. For discussion, see F. C. E. Law-Turner, *The Ormesby Psalter: Patrons and Artists in Medieval East Anglia* (Oxford, 2017), pp. 25–7.

[71] *The Registers of Henry Burghersh, 1320–42: III*, ed. and trans. N. Bennett, Lincoln Record Society 101 (Woodbridge, 2011), no. 1811.

[72] *English Medieval Embroidery: Opus Anglicanum*, ed. C. Brown, G. Davies and M. A. Michael (London, 2017), pp. 138–40.

the arms of Beatrice de Nesle, the wife of Aymer de Valence, whose style enjoys similarities with the so-called Valence casket in the Victoria and Albert Museum.[73] Heraldry was central to the material culture of the aristocracy, and women contributed to it during their lives as sponsors and consumers.

As Nigel Saul observed, a 'woman might [also] find herself … absorbed into the chivalric identity of the age' on her tomb.[74] Heraldic designs decorated the funerary monuments of ladies, advertising their prestigious lineages and their engagement with elite culture. Although, in cases where there is no extant testamentary evidence, it can be difficult to establish whether noblewomen commissioned their own tombs, the adoption of arms on them is still revealing of women's place in chivalric society. The probable effigy of Eva (d. 1257), daughter of William de Braose and wife of William de Cantilupe, in the priory (now parish) church of Abergavenny (Monmouthshire) depicts a noblewoman on a tomb chest, with a shield of arms covering her breast and much of her body [fig. 2].[75] The late-thirteenth-century tomb of Aveline de Forz (d. 1273), countess of Lancaster, in the presbytery of Westminster abbey shows a woman wearing a fine mantel and lying under an architectural canopy, on another tomb chest, with her head resting on a pillow. The tomb chest is decorated with a series of shields, whose arms are now lost, underneath which are a series of mourners.[76] Women, or their executors and husbands, similarly celebrated their marital and natal identities and associations through the use of arms on some of the earliest English monumental brasses for ladies that survive from the early fourteenth century onward. The brass of Margaret, lady Camoys, at Trotton in Sussex, for example, which dates from 1310, bears the image of a woman with her arms raised in prayer. Wearing a fine kirtle, gown, veil and wimple, her clothing was once overlaid with nine small coats of arms, but that decoration is now lost.[77] There were plenty of opportunities for women to embrace and adapt for their own ends the visual trappings of knighthood and nobility in their artistic patronage and as forms of self-expression that celebrated their social connections, their bloodlines and their fine breeding.

[73] Victoria and Albert Museum, The Valence Casket, Museum number 4-1865, available at http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O126749/the-valence-casket-casket-unknown/.

[74] N. Saul, *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages: History and Representation* (Oxford, 2009), p. 309.

[75] J. Newman, *The Buildings of Wales: Gwent/Monmouthshire* (London, 2000), p. 95.

[76] L. L. Gee, *Women, Art and Patronage: From Henry III to Edward III, 1216–1377* (Woodbridge, 2002), p. 110 and plate 40.

[77] Lady Camoys was surrounded by eight further shields: H. W. Macklin and C. Oman, *Monumental Brasses*, 7th edn (London, 1953), p. 77 (plate).

2 Effigy identified as that of Eva, daughter of William de Braose and wife of William de Cantilupe (d. 1257)

Chivalry, Gender and Virtue

Yet to be truly chivalrous, it was not enough to be wellborn; a noblewoman, like a nobleman, was expected to embrace particular modes of upright, moral conduct. The idea that true nobility was, in fact, virtue dated back to classical antiquity, and medieval writers similarly promoted the ideal that 'nobility of birth had to be complemented by a like nobility of character'.[78] At the heart of chivalric ideals was a focus on the moral requirements and social responsibilities of nobility. Joachim Bumke observed how male 'noble warriors' on the Continent were, therefore, often described in French and Middle High German texts with adjectives that conveyed their good, 'moral' behaviour from the eleventh and twelfth centuries onward.[79] Knights were exhorted to adopt the qualities of humility, loyalty, forbearance, hardihood, largesse, honour and piety, and to protect the weak.[80] To be properly considered noble, a knight needed to behave properly.[81] In *Le Livre des manières* (1174–78), written by Etienne de Fougères, bishop of Rennes, the author observed that 'A knight must take the sword/ To administer justice … / He must extinguish violence and plundering' ('[C]hevalier deit espee prendre por justisier … / force et ravine deit esteindre').[82]

The focus on virtues also helped to make chivalry accessible to women. The Virtues and Vices themselves were, on occasion, depicted as allegorical figures associated with knighthood and nobility in texts written for female audiences. In a copy produced in or around 1200 of the allegorical treatise known as the *Speculum Virginum* (*Mirror for Virgins*), a text offering guidance for nuns, the Virtues and Vices were personified as knights, locked in armed combat.[83] In other texts, the Virtues were themselves described or drawn as noble or knightly women. In Alain of Lille's *Anticlaudianus*, written in the twelfth century, the Virtues – Concord, Plenty, Youth, Laughter, Temperance, Moderation, Reason, Honesty, Decorum, Prudence, Piety, Sincerity and Nobility herself – were personified as wellborn women upon whom Nature called for help via their counsel

[78] Bumke, *Courtly Culture*, p. 305.
[79] *Ibid.*, p. 49.
[80] Crouch, *The Birth of Nobility*, pp. 56–80; Bumke, *Courtly Culture*, pp. 302–3.
[81] *Der wälsche Gast des Thomasin von Zirclaria*, ed. H. Rückert (Quedlinburg, 1852), p. 106, lines 3902–3; *Thomasin von Zirclaria, Der Welsche Gast (The Italian Guest)*, trans. M. Gibbs and W. McConnell, Medieval German Texts in Bilingual Editions IV (Kalamazoo, MI, 2009), p. 102.
[82] *Etienne de Fougères, Le Livre des manières*, printed as an appendix in M. Switten, '*Chevalier* in Twelfth-Century French and Occitan Vernacular Literature', in *The Study of Chivalry*, ed. Chickering and Seiler, p. 442, lines 537–40.
[83] Hannover, Kestner-Museum Inv.-Nr. 3984 (*Speculum Virginum*). See also Bumke, *Courtly Culture*, p. 160, fig. 14.

and practical assistance in fashioning the perfect man.[84] A series of illustrations in the *Hortus Deliciarum*, a manuscript compiled in the late twelfth century by Herrad of Landsberg, a nun of Hohenberg abbey in Alsace, portrayed the Vices and Virtues as women knights, who were ready to engage in spiritual warfare.[85] The Virtues and Vices wore helms and chainmail and carried shields, but the shape of their breasts and their long skirts disclosed their feminine nature.[86]

Virtuous qualities in women were celebrated in literature. The idealised heroines and other praiseworthy female characters in the *lais* of Marie de France, for example, won renown for their good, moral, Christian behaviour.[87] They were courtly, loyal, wise, modest and chaste young women, like Le Fresne, a girl of noble birth who was abandoned in an ash tree, discovered and then raised by an abbess as her adopted niece.[88] As the king in *Silence* observed, 'There is no more precious gem,/ nor greater treasure, than a virtuous woman' ('In n'est si preciose gemme,/ Ne tells tresors com bone feme').[89] Noblemen and noblewomen treated 'proper behaviour' ('Car bons') as evidence of a virtuous life and moral superiority in elite society.[90] Correct conduct was often associated with loveliness in women as a physical manifestation of inner purity. In the *Christherre-Chronik*'s account of Jacob's wedding, adapted from the Old Testament, the virgin Rachel was described as 'The most noble and virtuous girl' ('di vil edele tugende riche'), a girl 'who was beautiful beyond words' ('nach wunsche wol getan').[91] Within a courtly context, beauty and elegance in ladies might therefore walk hand-in-hand with good, feminine qualities. Belisaunt, the daughter of the grand duke in the Middle English romance *Amis and Amiloun* (*c.* 1330), for instance, was described as 'fair and bold,/ Courteous, attractive, and generous'

[84] *Alan of Lille, Anticlaudianus or The Good and Perfect Man*, trans. J. J. Sheridan (Toronto, 1973), pp. 45–6.

[85] This recalls the Prudentius' *Psychomachia*, a poem from the early fifth century that describes the battle for the soul between allegorical virtues and vices. On this, see S. O'Sullivan, *Early Medieval Glosses on Prudentius' Psychomachia: The Weitz Tradition*, Mittelateinische Studien und Texte, Band XXXI (Leiden, 2004), pp. 4–5.

[86] The original manuscript at Strasbourg was burned in a fire, but nineteenth-century copies of the images from Herrad's work are available at http://www2.oberlin.edu/images/Art310/10636.JPG (the Vices) and http://www2.oberlin.edu/images/Art310/10637.JPG (the Virtues) (accessed 31/1/2018).

[87] See, for example, the opening remarks to 'Guigemar', *Marie de France, Lais*, p. 3, lines 5–10 (which note also the fragility of reputations).

[88] 'Le Fresne', *Marie de France, Lais*, pp. 40–1, lines 228–42.

[89] *Silence*, pp. 310–11, lines 6633–4.

[90] *Ibid.*, p. 242–3, lines 5169–70.

[91] 'Christherre-Chronik/The "*Christherre*" Chronicle', in *History as Literature: The German World Chronicles of the Thirteenth Century in Verse*, ed. and trans. R. Graeme Dunphy, German Medieval Texts in Bilingual Editions III (Kalamazoo, 2003), pp. 72–3, lines 8025, 8030.

('fair and bold/ Curteise hende and fre').[92] Medieval art offered other, stylised images of this ideal that echoed these associations between nobility, attractiveness and worthiness. In the thirteenth century, the life-size sculptures installed at Naumburg cathedral in Germany of twelve wellborn *fundatores*, eight of whom were men and four of whom were women, were all given attractive, happy or serene faces. The ladies, who included Uta and Reglindis, the wives of margraves Ekkehard II and Hermann of Meissen, were attired in elaborate robes and headdresses with fine jewels, reflecting an idealised impression of these courtly ladies of the past.[93] Even so, some writers were wary of the perils posed to men who were attracted to women by a hollow beauty. Thomasin von Zirclaria, author of *Der Welsche Gast* (*The Italian Guest*), a thirteenth-century guide to good conduct and values for young noblemen and noblewomen, cautioned against the dangers presented by a woman who, like the classical figure Helen of Troy, possessed great beauty but little virtue or wisdom, and brought shame on herself.[94] For 'Beauty is nothing if it is not accompanied by good sense and good breeding' ('schœne ist enwiht, dâne sî/ sin und ouch zuht bî').[95]

Appropriate conduct in both knights and ladies was closely linked with social refinement, namely an appreciation of the etiquette of aristocratic culture. In preparation for adult life, children of both sexes were taught the importance of behaving courteously by displaying decorum and grace in social settings, although this seems to have been particularly important for young women. Vincent of Beauvais's *De eruditione filiorum regalium* ('On the education of royal children'), written in the reign of King Louis IX of France (d. 1270), advised that girls should be instructed 'in good manners and customs' ('in moribus et consuetudinibus bonis'), and trained 'in modesty and chastity, and in humility and in remaining silent and in maturity of manners and gestures' ('in pudicia siue castitate et in humilitate et in taciturnitate et in morum sive gestuum maturitate').[96] For Thomasin von Zirclaria, if a woman behaved appropriately but with poor demeanour and with unpleasant speech, then 'her good deeds are uncrowned' ('ir guot getât ist âne krône').[97] The same author advised young women to speak little, demonstrate loyalty and steadfastness in their affections, and act

[92] 'Amis and Amiloun', in *Middle English Romances in Translation*, ed. and trans. K. Eckert (Leiden, 2015), p. 32, lines 423–4.

[93] P. Williamson, *Gothic Sculpture, 1140–1300* (London, 1995), pp. 180–2.

[94] *Der wälsche Gast*, ed. Rückert, p. 23, lines 821–7; *Thomasin von Zirclaria, Der Welsche Gast*, trans. Gibbs and McConnell, pp. 65–6.

[95] *Der wälsche* Gast, ed. Rückert, p. 24, lines 859–60; *Thomasin von Zirclaria, Der Welsche Gast*, trans. Gibbs and McConnell, p. 66.

[96] Cited in Bumke, *Courtly Culture*, pp. 337–8, 642 n. 81 (I have modified the English translation).

[97] *Der wälsche Gast*, ed. Rückert, p. 6, line 202; *Thomasin von Zirclaria, Der Welsche Gast*, trans. Gibbs and McConnell, p. 58.

with gentleness, composure and courtesy.[98] Such lessons prepared women for their adult lives, when, once married or widowed, they might be expected to run large domestic establishments, provide hospitality for visitors, and entertain guests with courtesy. The *Rules* that Bishop Robert Grosseteste compiled in the mid-thirteenth century for Margaret de Lacy, countess of Lincoln, outlined this aristocratic lady's managerial duties and responsibilities as a hostess, which included ensuring that her household officials and servants treated her visitors with good manners and the deference appropriate to their rank.[99]

It was considered essential for noble girls to receive an education in virtuous behaviour and courtly etiquette, so that they would not bring disgrace or shame upon either themselves or their families. In the *Codex Manesse*, die Winsbekin, the authoress of *Spruchdichtung*, advised her daughter on the importance of 'combining fine breeding, positive attitude, and self-discipline with courtly education.'[100] After all, ladies hosted and participated in courtly pastimes and entertainments, such as dancing, which exposed them to public view. In a fourteenth-century manuscript of Guillaume de Machaut's poem *Le Remède de fortune*, the lady who was the object of the author's affections was portrayed dancing a 'carole' with other well-attired lords and ladies in the grounds of a castle.[101] After the dance, she was shown returning to the castle, whereupon mass was celebrated and she hosted a banquet in the great hall.[102]

Some virtues and modes of behaviour were regarded, however, as more fitting for noble ladies than for knights, reflecting women's subordinate status as the heiresses of Eve and the lesser of the two sexes.[103] Although modesty might be seen as suitable for both knights and ladies, humility was more appropriate for ladies, whose 'goodness should be adorned with virtue both in youth and in old age' ('güete/ sol sîn geziert mit der tugent/ beidiu an alter und an jugent').[104] Similarly, it was felt that 'Bravery befits a knight, loyalty and honesty the ladies'

[98] *Der wälsche Gast*, ed. Rückert, p. 13, lines 467–70, p. 28, lines 1013–14; *Thomasin von Zirclaria, Der Welsche Gast*, trans. Gibbs and McConnell, pp. 61, 68.

[99] 'The Rules of Robert Grosseteste', in *Walter of Henley and Other Treatises on Estate Management and Accounting*, ed. D. Oschinsky (Oxford, 1971), pp. 400–3 no. xx.

[100] Nickel, 'The Tournament', p. 260. For die Winsbekin and her daughter, see Cod. Pal. germ. 848 ('Codex Manesse'), fol. 217r, available at http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/touch/cpg848/#page/436 (accessed 31/1/2018).

[101] F. Avril, *Manuscript Painting at the Court of France: The Fourteenth Century* (New York, 1978), pp. 86–7, plate 24.

[102] *Ibid.*, pp. 88–9, plate 25.

[103] On Eve's problematic legacy for women, see 'Rudolf von Ems, Weltchronik', in *History as Literature*, ed. and trans. Dunphy, pp. 34–5, lines 80–94, pp. 40–1, lines 224–8, pp. 46–9, lines 350–85.

[104] *Der wälsche Gast*, ed. Rückert, p. 27, lines 980–2; *Thomasin von Zirclaria, Der Welsche Gast*, trans. Gibbs and McConnell, p. 67.

('dem rîter zimt wol vrümkeit,/ den vrouwen triuwe und wârheit').[105] The lives of literary heroines such as Enid, about whom young women might hear or read, offered 'examples and good instruction' ('bilde und guote lêre') for damsels to emulate, while young men might look to Gawain, King Arthur and Charlemagne as role models.[106] In a similar vein, noble ladies were expected to be pious, read religious works like the psalter, and occupy at least part of their time with charitable activities, as well as religious observances and patronage.[107] In chivalric culture, there were strong associations between femininity, virtue and nobility.

As part of their education, in line with Christian teaching, young ladies were also counselled to avoid arrogance, deceit, envy, foolishness and slander, which were damaging qualities ascribed to the rich knight's wife in Marie de France's *lai* of *Le Fresne*.[108] Thomasin von Zirclaria personified Avarice, Drunkenness, Gluttony, Sloth and Unchastity as ladies, describing them as the mistresses of noblemen who had abandoned a virtuous life and surrendered to their desires.[109] There were, in particular, some strongly gendered ideas about sexual honour, which sometimes set apart the chivalric values of ladies and knights. Although adulterous and illicit relationships of a type frowned upon by the Church were a feature of many of the *lais* of Marie de France, this author condoned extramarital relationships if they were inspired by true love.[110] Even so, it was fairly unusual for the main female characters in Middle English romances to bear illegitimate offspring, reflecting contemporary condemnation of sexual infidelity on the part of women.[111] Premarital liaisons or adultery in ladies seldom went unpunished in certain other texts. In *Silence*, for example, the adulterous, lustful queen Eufeme accused the character Silence of attempted rape and plotted Silence's death, only for the queen's adultery with a man disguised as a nun to be exposed by Merlin.[112] The queen's punishment was a most painful and humiliating death – by drawing and quartering.[113] As a story that was probably copied for a noblewoman, Beatrice de Gavre, when she married Guy IX de Laval in or

[105] *Der wälsche Gast*, ed. Rückert, p. 27, lines 983–4; *Thomasin von Zirclaria, Der Welsche Gast*, trans. Gibbs and McConnell, p. 67.

[106] *Der wälsche Gast*, ed. Rückert, p. 29, lines 1029–48; *Thomasin von Zirclaria, Der Welsche Gast*, trans. Gibbs and McConnell, p. 68.

[107] M. Wade Labarge, *A Baronial Household of the Thirteenth Century* (London, 1965), p. 41; Bumke, *Courtly Culture*, p. 338.

[108] 'Le Fresne', *Marie de France, Lais*, p. 35, lines 25–9.

[109] *Der wälsche Gast*, ed. Rückert, p. 117, lines 4283–6, p. 223, lines 8183–8; *Thomasin von Zirclaria, Der Welsche Gast*, trans. Gibbs and McConnell, pp. 106, 151.

[110] *Marie de France, Lais*, p. xxxiii; Saul, *For Honour and Fame*, pp. 264–5.

[111] For discussion, see H. Hudson, 'Introduction to Sir Eglamour of Artois', in *Four Middle English Romances: Sir Isumbras, Octavian, Sir Eglamour of Artois, Sir Tryamour*, ed. *idem*, TEAMS Middle English Text Series, 2nd edn (Kalamazoo, MI, 2006), p. 98.

[112] *Silence*, pp. 300–1, lines 6418–38, pp. 302–7, lines 6471–532.

[113] *Ibid.*, pp. 312–13, lines 6651–9.

around 1286, *Silence* may therefore have offered a real courtly lady a lesson in sexual morality.[114] As Adam of Eynsham, the author of the *Life of St Hugh of Lincoln*, observed – at the end of a tale about a wicked lady who had tried to pass off another's child as her own in order to deprive her knightly brother-in-law of his inheritance – women as the 'weaker sex' ('infirmiorem sexum') should be subject to men lest they lead them into sin.[115] In literary works and in reality, knights exercised authority over their wives, daughters and female wards, while damsels and ladies were, for their part, expected to be submissive and obedient to men.

In conclusion, women occupied a distinctive place within the chivalric culture of western Europe during the twelfth, thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Although chivalry, in reality, did little to change the status of women or alter the sexual politics of the aristocracy in any meaningful way, it helped to provide a moral framework, tied to Christian values, that allowed women to be treated with dignity and which recognised their importance within families, and within the everyday mechanisms of lordship. As Etienne de Fougères exhorted his readers in *Le Livre des manières*, 'We should cherish our men/ For the peasants carry the burden of work/ From which we live, whoever we are,/ Knights, and clergy, and ladies' ('Molt devon cher aveir nos homes,/ quar li vilen portent le[s] sonmes/ don nos vivon quanque nos sunmes, et chevaliers et clers et domes').[116]

[114] *Ibid.*, p. xxiii.

[115] *Magna Vita Sancti Hugonis*, ed. D. L. Douie and H. Farmer, 2 vols (London, 1961–62), II, p. 23.

[116] Etienne de Fougères, *Le Livre des manières*, printed as an appendix in Switten, '*Chevalier*', p. 444, lines 577–80.

12

Chivalric Literature

JOANNA BELLIS AND MEGAN G. LEITCH

> For Arthur the root of Englishness lay in the long-gone, long-remembered, long-invented world of chivalry. There was no knight more faithful than Sir Kaye, none so brave and amorous as Sir Lancelot, none so virtuous as Sir Galahad. There was no pair of lovers truer than Tristan and Iseult, no wife fairer and more faithless than Guinevere. And of course there was no braver or more noble king than Arthur.
>
> The Christian virtues could be practised by anyone, from the humble to the high-born. But chivalry was the prerogative of the powerful. The knight protected his lady; the strong aided the weak; honour was a living thing for which you should be prepared to die. Sadly, the number of grails and quests available to a newly qualified doctor was fairly limited. In this modern world of Birmingham factories and billycock hats the notion of chivalry often seemed to have declined into one of mere sportsmanship. But Arthur practised the code wherever possible.[1]

So the adolescent Arthur Conan-Doyle is characterised by Julian Barnes, and his youthful infatuation with the chivalric universe demonstrates the ways in which it could grip the imaginations of its devotees. Its peerless cast, each boasting a superlative purview (*none so* brave, *none so* virtuous and *none so* fair), establishes the Round Table as the fixed point against which future knights, courts, and quests will be measured. It has an innate nostalgia, set in the wistfully conjured ('long-gone, long-remembered') and knowingly fictionalised ('long-invented') past. It has a foot in fantasy, although the behaviour and attitudes it inspires are for the real world ('Arthur practised the code wherever possible').

If 'chivalry' was a set of expectations and practices, a value system or even a culture, it was also a body of writing. It engendered, and then drew upon, a literary corpus, of which its practitioners were both authors and audience, creators and consumers. Chivalric literature took many forms: violent epic, courtly romance,

[1] J. Barnes, *Arthur and George* (London, 2006), pp. 31–2.

stylised biography, practical manuals, political chronicles. This chapter offers a roadmap of this material, beginning with texts about contemporary events: chronicles, vitae and political poetry. It then turns to romance and *chanson de geste*, the heartland of chivalric writing. Finally, it looks at the flip-side: pastiches that poked fun at or more seriously satirised the chivalric *modus operandi*.

Chivalric literature was practical, not just in that it instructed knights in their métier (although texts like Ramon Llull's *Llibre qui es de l'ordre de cavalleria*, *c.* 1280, and Geoffroi de Charny's *Livre de chevalerie*, *c.* 1350, did exactly that); but in that it reflected to medieval society the image of its proper order. It was both inspirational and corrective, as Hoccleve's advice to the Lollard Sir John Oldcastle made clear: 'Clymbe no more in holy writ so hie!' but 'Rede the storie of Lancelot de lake,/ Or Vegece of the aart of Chiualrie,/ The seege of Troie or Thebes'.[2] As Craig Taylor remarks, 'chivalric tales were to provide Oldcastle with the appropriate models for knightly behaviour that would, in turn, restore him to the path of heterodoxy'.[3] Chivalric literature reinforced patterns of conduct and the proper structure of society: restraint and obeisance, exercising and recognising authority, muscularity moral and literal, when to stand and when to bend. As well as instruction, however, it was about entertainment and inspiration. Its content fell into two great overlapping circles: the epic past (the matter of Troy and Thebes, of Arthur and Charlemagne and the Worthies) and the heroic present (the exploits of Henry V, the Black Prince, of Bertrand du Guesclin, etc.); and the bringing to bear of the former upon the latter was an important political strategy.[4] As a corpus, it was international, looking back to the foundation myths of Greece, Troy and Thebes, as well as legends of the Round Table; and it was multilingual, across Latin and the vernaculars of Europe.

Contemporary Chivalry: Chronicle, Biography and Political Verse

Chronicles were not always chivalric, but some were saliently so, notably Jean Froissart's monumental *Chroniques*. Spanning the years 1326–1400, they were an ambitious and influential undertaking, an expansion/continuation of the work of Jean le Bel, which Froissart returned to redact throughout his life. Froissart

[2] T. Hoccleve, *Hoccleve's Works: The Minor Poems*, ed. F. J. Furnivall and I. Gollancz, Early English Text Society extra series (hereafter EETS ES) 61 (London, 1892); rev. J. Mitchell and A. I. Doyle, EETS ES 73 (London, 1970), 194–7, p. 14.

[3] C. Taylor, 'English Writings on Chivalry and Warfare during the Hundred Years War', in *Soldiers, Nobles and Gentlemen: Essays in Honour of Maurice Keen*, ed. C. Tyerman (Woodbridge, 2009), pp. 64–84 (p. 65).

[4] A companion article is J. Bellis, 'King Arthur in the Hundred Years War', in *Littérature Arthurienne Tardive en Europe*, ed. A. Putter, R. Radulescu, C. Ferlampin-Achier *et al.* (forthcoming).

came to England from Hainault around 1360, in the service of Queen Philippa, and remained until her death in 1369.[5] The ready aristocratic readership the *Chroniques* found is attested by the 'number of the surviving texts [that] were sumptuously produced, with lavish illumination', in Antonia Gransden's words.[6] Froissart's prose was equally lavish: a 'highly coloured chivalric style' offering a 'romanticized view of events': 'the finest flower of French chivalry' fell at Poitiers; the Black Prince was 'the flower of the world's knighthood'; Edward III a king whose 'like had not been seen since the days of King Arthur'.[7] His splicing of the subject matter of chronicles with the voice of *chanson de geste* was a fourteenth-century speciality, as historians marketed a popular history with a grand vision:

> Affin que hounourables avenues, et nobles aventures, faictes en armes, lesquelles sont avenues par les guerres de France et d'Angleterre, soient noblement registrees et mises en memoire perpetuel, par quoy les preux aient exemple d'eulx encoragier en bien faisant, je vueil traitier et recorder histoire et matiere de grant louenge.[8]

> In order that the honourable enterprises, noble adventures and deeds of arms which took place during the wars waged by France and England should be fittingly related and preserved for posterity, so that brave men should be inspired thereby to follow such examples, I wish to place on record these matters of great renown.[9]

This was designed to be aspired to and emulated, whether by the fighting class or those sighing after this romantic vision of it.

Another chivalric telling of contemporary history was Thomas Gray's *Scalacronica*. Gray fought in Edward III's northern wars and was held captive in Edinburgh castle from 1355 to 1359, during which time he wrote his chronicle. It displayed a 'preoccupation with chivalric values', in Gransden's words, and was 'heavily influenced by [...] tales of knights errant and courtly love'.[10] In fact, Gray's 'chivalric outlook determined the form' of his work: the prologue spelled out his name by indicating each letter's alphabetical position, and described his

[5] See *Medieval English Travel: A Critical Anthology*, ed. S. Sobecki and A. Bale (Oxford, 2019).

[6] A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England II: c. 1307 to the Early Sixteenth Century* (London and New York, 1996, repr. 2010), p. 90.

[7] Jean Froissart, *Chronicles*, trans. G. Brereton (London: Penguin, 1968, repr. 1978), pp. 143, 193, 195–6.

[8] *The Online Froissart*, ed. P. Ainsworth and G. Croenen version 1.5 (Sheffield, 2013), stable URL: http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart (accessed July 2017), Prologue, cited from Besançon 864.

[9] Froissart, *Chronicles*, trans. Brereton, p. 37.

[10] Gransden, *Historical Writing*, p. 94 (see pp. 92–6).

coat-of-arms in detail; even the title was a reference to his family motif (a scaling ladder). Gray was writing himself and his generation into the tradition that inspired him.

A sub-genre of the chronicle, which likewise propelled its heroes into the canon, was chivalric biography. *La Vie du Prince Noir* (*The Life of the Black Prince*) was a posthumous eulogy written in Anglo-Norman verse *c.* 1380, about Edward, prince of Wales, by the herald of Sir John Chandos.[11] Gransden comments that 'The enthusiasm of the chivalric class for history in the romance style cannot be better demonstrated' than in this text, which evinced a particular exuberance for 'the golden age of chivalry'.[12] The Chandos Herald was an eyewitness of part of his narration, the 1367 Spanish campaign. In his portrait, Edward was superlatively qualified as a chivalric hero:

> Je voil mettre mestudie
> A faire & recordir la vie
> De plus vaillant Prince du mounde
> Si come il tourny a le rounde
> Ne qe fuist puis les champs claruz
> Jule Cesaire ne Artuz
> Ensi come vous oier purrez
>
> I wish to set my intent on writing and recording the life of the most valiant prince of this world, throughout its compass, that ever was since the days of Claris, Julius Caesar, or Arthur, as you shall hear.[13]

The Herald calibrated the prince's excellence by invoking the Nine Worthies (*neuf preux*), a hall of fame comprising three biblical luminaries (Joshua, David, Judas Maccabeus), three classical (Hector of Troy, Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar) and three Christian (Arthur, Charlemagne, Godfrey of Bouillon).[14] Historical subject 'matter' could be schematised into the 'matters' of Rome (narratives of classical Thebes or Troy), of France (Charlemagne and his twelve

[11] For an introduction to the Chandos Herald, see J. Bellis, 'The Chandos Herald', in *The Encyclopaedia of Medieval British Literature*, ed. S. Echard and R. Rouse (Oxford, 2017). For a fuller exploration, see J. Bellis, '"I Was Enforced to Become an Eyed Witnes": Documenting War in Medieval and Early Modern Literature', in *Emotions and War: Medieval to Romantic Literature*, ed. S. Downes, A. Lynch and K. O'Loughlin (Basingstoke and New York, 2015), pp. 133–51.

[12] Gransden, *Historical Writing*, pp. 92, 100.

[13] Chandos Herald, *Life of the Black Prince*, ed. trans. M. K. Pope and E. Constance Lodge (Oxford, 1910), 47–53, pp. 2, 135.

[14] W. Kuskin, 'Caxton's Worthies Series: The Production of Literary Culture', *English Literary History* 66:3 (1999), pp. 511–51; see also I. Gollancz, 'Appendix: Texts Illustrative of "The Nine Worthies"', in *The Parlement of the Thre Ages*, ed. I. Gollancz (London, 1915), pp. 117–45.

peers), and of Britain (Arthur and his knights of the Round Table).[15] Narratives celebrating the Nine Worthies overlapped with the 'matters' of Rome (including Hector of Troy), France (Charlemagne and his peers), and Britain (King Arthur). Invoking these figures was a recognisable shorthand for an ideological framework within which texts that thought of themselves as chivalric (whether romances, chronicles, manuals, or something else) operated and were grouped together. The Herald's verse is punctuated with such comparisons, as when he asserts 'ho[m]me en purroit faire vn liuere/ Bien auxi grant come Dartus/ Dalisandre ou de Claruz' ('one could make a book of it as big as of Arthur, Alexander or Claris').[16]

The *Vie* also revelled in its dense, rarefied, chivalric style:

> Cil franc Prince dount je vous dye
> Depuis le iour qil fuist nasquy
> Ne pensa forsque loiautee
> Franchise valour & bountee
> Et si fuist garniz de p[ro]esce […]
> Ore est reason qe ie vous counte
> De ce dount hom[m]e doit fair acompte
> Cest du fait chiualrie
>
> This noble Prince of whom I speak, from the day of his birth cherished no thought but loyalty, nobleness, valour, and goodness, and was endued with prowess. […] now it is right that I should relate to you that which all should hold in esteem – that is, chivalry.[17]

Exceptionality was part of the currency of chivalric writing, and this was strategically useful for historical writing. The superlative chivalric aesthetic enabled the violence of the hero to be safely neutralised, and subsequently glorified. Striking a lofty tone could be an actively political step: a mode that enabled disturbing events to be handled within an uncomplicated celebratory idiom. The Herald's deft navigation of the horrors of Poitiers pulled off this manoeuvre:

> Adonqes veissez les barons
> De combatre bien esprouuer
> Grantz deduytz fuist a regarder
> Cely qe rien ny conteroit

[15] As articulated by the late-twelfth-century French poet Jehan Bodel (among others): see D. B. Sands, *Middle English Verse Romances* (New York, 1966), pp. 2–5; W. R. J. Barron, *English Medieval Romance* (London, 1987), pp. 63–88.

[16] Chandos Herald, *Life of the Black Prince*, 4094–105, pp. 127, 170; see also 161–3, 2796–7 and 3382–3.

[17] *Ibid.*, 63–7, 95–7 pp. 2–3, 136–7.

Mais certes g[ra]ntz piece estoit
Et meruelouse chose & dure
La auoit mente creature
Qe celui iour fuist mis a fin
La combatoient de coer fin
Archiers traoient a la volee
Qui furent sur les deux costees
Plus drut qe plume nest volee

> Then might you see the barons approve themselves well in battle; great pastime would it have been to behold for one that had naught there at stake, but certes it was sore pity and a marvellous and grievous thing. There was many a creature who that day was brought to his end. There they fought staunchly. The archers that were on the two sides over towards the barded horses shot rapidly, thicker than rain falls.[18]

The balance was a delicate one. The battle was both a great pastime and a sore pity; *both* marvellous *and* grievous. The chaos and bloodshed were choreographed into something artistic, something to 'behold' (*regarder*, *veissez*) and even admire, as the arrows fell like rain. Chivalric literature frequently performed this transmutation of horror into glory and violence into valour, through a careful training of the lens. As Patricia DeMarco comments, comparing the *Vie du Prince Noir* with Froissart's *Chroniques*, 'deeds of arms lack any intrinsic ethical coding', and 'Within the tautologies of chivalric culture, acts of violence are dependent, at least in part, upon a deed's place in realizing chivalric identity.'[19] Translating violence into prowess required robust interpretation and repackaging, which is exactly what these narrations provided.

Several chivalric biographies were written about Henry V: the anonymous *Gesta Henrici Quinti* (1417), the Pseudo-Elmham *Vita Henrici Quinti* and Thomas Elmham's *Liber Metricus de Henrici Quinto* (1418).[20] The *Gesta* shared the lofty style of the *Vie du Prince Noir* and, as its editors write, was both 'the best single contemporary narrative extant for the first three and a half years of the reign of Henry V' and 'an outstanding piece of propaganda'.[21] As Gransden observes, it was written 'In keeping with the chivalric historiographical tradition' and 'in

[18] *Ibid.*, 80–90, pp. 35, 145.

[19] P. DeMarco, 'Inscribing the Body with Meaning: Chivalric Culture and the Norms of Violence in *The Vows of the Heron*', in *Inscribing the Hundred Years War in French and English Cultures*, ed. D. N. Baker (Albany, NY, 2000), pp. 27–53 (at p. 32).

[20] The other lives of Henry V are discussed in greater detail by Gransden, *Historical Writing*, pp. 206–19.

[21] J. S. Roskell and F. Taylor, 'The Authorship and Purpose of the *Gesta Henrici Quinti*', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 53, 2, and 54, 1 (1971), pp. 428–64 (p. 428).

accordance with chivalric tastes'.[22] Its author, most likely a royal chaplain, presented Henry as a king of Arthurian stature:

> Et nec recolit senioritas nostra quod unquam princeps aliquis magis laboriose, strenuius bel humanius populum suum regebat per viam, seu qui manu propria se virilius gerebat in campo, ymmo nec reperitur in cronicis vel annalibus Regum de quo antiquitas nostra meminit quod unquam Rex aliquis Anglie tot expedivit in tam brevi tempore et cum tanto et tam glorioso triumpho ad propria remigravit. Soli deo honor et gloria in secula seculorum.
>
> Nor do our older men remember any prince ever having commanded his people on the march with more effort, bravery, or consideration, or having, with his own hand, performed greater feats of strength in the field. Nor, indeed, is evidence to be found in the chronicles or annals of kings of which our long history makes mention, that any king of England ever achieved so much in so short a time and returned home with so great and so glorious a triumph. To God alone be the honour and the glory, for ever and ever.[23]

The *Gesta* had a sonority to its gravid prose that matched the richness of its aesthetic. Henry emerged as a prudent, decisive victor, 'qui non bellum set pacem quesivit' ('who sought not war but peace'), 'quasi invitus citatus ad prelium deum invocavit testem inculpate querele sue' ('summoned as it were unwillingly to do battle, called upon God as a witness to his blameless quarrel').[24] He had spectacular personal piety, and his battlefield performance was flawless: 'Rex noster multum civiliter et intrepide animavit excercitum suum' ('our king, very calmly and quite heedless of danger, gave encouragement to his army').[25] His personal valour inspired him when the dauphin failed to 'condoleret humano cruori' ('feel compunction at the shedding of human blood') and 'sibi dimitti faceret ius suum absque ulteriori duricia' ('cause his right to be conceded to him without further rigours of war') to challenge him to that most chivalric of encounters, 'ad personam per duellum' ('a duel between them, man to man)'.[26] Henry's overall exemplarity led the author to remark, 'Et non potuit, iudicio meo, ex vera iusticia dei, filio tam grandis confidencie infaustum quid accidere, sicuti nec Iudi Machabeo accidit usque in diffidenciam cecidit, et inde merito in ruinam' ('And, as I myself believe, it was not possible, because of the true righteousness of God, for misfortune to befall a son of His with so sublime a faith,

[22] Gransden, *Historical Writing*, pp. 204–5 (see pp. 198–207).
[23] *Gesta Henrici Quinti: The Deeds of Henry V*, ed. and trans. F. Taylor and John S. Roskell (Oxford, 1975), pp. 100–1.
[24] *Ibid.*, pp. 34–5, 36–7.
[25] *Ibid.*, pp. 78–9.
[26] *Ibid.*, pp. 56–9.

any more than it befell Judas Maccabeus until he lapsed into lack of faith and so, deservedly, met with disaster').[27]

Here the *Gesta*'s author reached, like the Herald, to the Nine Worthies, as the barometer of his protagonist's exceptionality. But where the Herald had been content to compare Edward to Arthur, the *Gesta*'s author went one better. Unlike Judas Maccabeus, he said, Henry's piety never lapsed, and he never tasted the disaster accompanying the withdrawal of divine favour (written in 1417 before the English reversal of fortunes, there is something a tad prophetic in the words 'ne irascitur dominus ingratitudine nostre et a nobis avertat alias, quod absit, victricem manum suam' ('lest the Lord be wrathful at our ingratitude and at another time turn from us, which Heaven forbid, His victorious hand')).[28]

In contrast, the French were depicted as guilty of 'culpabilis et iniusta violencia' ('blameworthy and unjust violence') and 'duplicitas' ('duplicity').[29] However, they were also worthy opponents. 'De laude hostium ex toto non sileam' ('I do not wish to be altogether silent in commending the enemy') wrote the author of the defenders of Harfleur:

> Et nec potuit populos obsessos, iuxta humanum iudicium, se prudencius vel tucius quam fecerant nostris oppugnacionem fecisse.
>
> Nor, in men's judgement, could a people under siege have resisted our attacks more sagaciously, or with greater security to themselves, than they did.[30]

Honourable enmity in warfare was important too. They may have been stubborn and duplicitous, but the French were enemies of appropriate stature. The author described how the English interpreted their strategy: 'si adhuc esset cor vel aliqua humanitas in eis, non possent tolerare tanti dedecoris maculam quod diceretur de eis per mundum ad sempiternum opprobrium' (they 'could not possibly (if they still retained any heart or manliness) bear the stain of the great dishonour which, to their everlasting reproach, would be attributed to them throughout the world').[31]

Alongside chronicles and biographies were lyrics and ballads, which celebrated in condensed form the careers of chivalric men. *The Agincourt Carol* (1415) narrated (of Henry V) how 'Owre kynge went forth to normandy/ with grace & myght of chyvalry'[32] *The Siege of Calais* (1436) told in miniature stanzaic vignettes the exploits of its heroes, when 'all the power and Chiualrie/

[27] *Ibid.*, pp. 78–9.
[28] *Ibid.*, pp. 98–9.
[29] *Ibid.*, pp. 14–18.
[30] *Ibid.*, pp. 38–41.
[31] *Ibid.*, pp. 64–5.
[32] *Historical Poems of the XIVth and XVth Centuries*, ed. R. H. Robbins (New York, 1959), 4, p. 91.

Of Burgone and Pykardie [...] made avaunt Calais to wynne', remarking that it was the time 'To profit and worshippe wynne/ In armes'. The romance lexicon surfaced throughout, in portraits of knights 'That loued worshipp and dred repref'.[33] *The Death of Edward III* (*c.* 1400) compared the English court to a mighty ship under an unparalleled captain, and used *chivalry* as a collective noun for the English fighting classes: 'Þis goode schip I may remene [*expound*]/ To þe chivalrye of þis londe.'[34] John Page's poetic account of Henry V's siege of Rouen (1419) compared itself to a siege romance, in a none-too-subtle piece of one-upmanship:

Oftyn tymys we talke of trauayle,	[feats of strength/exertion]
Of saute, sege, and of grete batayle,	[military attack]
Bothe in romans and in ryme,	
What hathe ben done before thys tyme.	
But Y wylle telle you nowe present	
(Vnto my tale yf ye wylle tent),	[be attentive]
Howe the V. Harry oure lege,	
With hys ryalte he sette a sege	
Byfore Rone, that ryche cytte,	
And endyd hyt at hys owne volunte.	[at his will]
A more solempne sege was neuyr sette	
Syn Jerusalem and Troy were gette.[35]	

Imaginative Chivalry: Romance and Epic

If historical texts borrowed the style of romances to lend a certain grandeur to current events, the traffic was not one-way: romances contextualised themselves within ancient and recent history, sometimes to promote the truth-content or status of their narratives, or to point out their relevance to current affairs. Even Chaucer, that reticent poet of the Hundred Years War, portrayed his Squire as having won his spurs in northern France:

[33] *Ibid.*, 'all the power and Chiualrie ...', 16–17, p. 22; 'To profit and worshippe ...', 10–11, p. 22; 'That loued worship ...', 56, pp. 78–9.

[34] *Ibid.*, 41–2; pp. 103–4.

[35] J. Page, *The Siege of Rouen*, ed. J. Bellis, Middle English Texts 51 (Heidelberg, 2015), 5–16, p. 3. For more on the romance aspirations of this text, see J. Bellis, *The Hundred Years War in Literature, 1337–1600* (Cambridge, 2016), pp. 150–9.

He hadde been somtyme in chyvachie [cavalry expedition/raid]
In Flaundres, in Artoys, and Pycardie,
And born hym weel.[36]

The Squire's Tale is a romp of magic rings and teleporting metal horses, not a history; but its teller is a practitioner from a current, real-world theatre of war. Romances were eager to assert their historicity, and also (in a metatextual manoeuvre) to demonstrate their centrality to the operation of a chivalric society.

Something depicted by romances and histories alike was the reading of chivalric literature within their narratives, as though to create a metatextual precedent for their own value. Page referred to the 'romans and in ryme' in which battle-narratives were recounted; *Richard Coer de Lyon* (discussed below) described how 'Fele romaunces men maken newe'; the Chandos Herald began with an encomium to poets, advising that 'Si ne se doit hom[m]e pas tener/ De beaux ditz faire et retenie' ('men ought not to refrain from making and remembering fair poems – all such as have skill thereto').[37] This was a recurring pattern, which stretched to the inclusion of chivalric reading within chivalric narrative itself. *Havelok the Dane* is an early Middle English romance whose historical credentials were important to it. Set in the 'real world' of injustice and violence, usurpation and restitution, it depicted the reading of romances as a central activity in a civilised chivalric society. Communal reading featured among the festivities celebrating the hero's dubbing as a knight:

Buttinge with sharpe speres,
Skirming with talevaces that men beres, [fencing; swords]
Wrastling with laddes, putting of ston, [shot-putting]
Harping and piping, ful god won, [a great amount]
Leyk of mine, of hasard ok, [games of backgammon and dice]
Romanz reding on the bok.
Ther mouthe men here the gestes singe, [may; tales]
The glewmen on the tabour dinge.[38] [musicians beat the drum]

'Romanz reding on the bok' and the singing of 'gestes' were as important a part of the cultivation of chivalric identity, both for the individual knight and the courtly society to which he belonged, as jousting, fencing, wrestling, etc. This was a portrait of a culture refining the skills it valued, certainly; but simultaneously

[36] Geoffrey Chaucer, 'The General Prologue', in *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. L. D. Benson *et al.*, 3rd edn (Oxford, 2008), 85–7, p. 24.

[37] Page, *The Siege of Rouen*, 7, p. 3; *Richard Coer de Lyon*, ed. P. Larkin (Kalamazoo, MI, 2015), 7; Chandos Herald, *Life of the Black Prince*, 29–30, pp. 2, 135.

[38] *Four Romances of England: King Horn, Havelok the Dane, Bevis of Hampton, Athelstan*, ed. R. B. Herzman, G. Drake and E. Salisbury (Kalamazoo, MI, 1999), 2322–9, pp. 141–2.

instilling the importance of chivalric reading. This self-awareness was a common thread connecting romantic chronicles to historical romances. Chivalric literature was fully alert to its social function: to create the kind of readers that it sought, to instil the values that it praised, to inspire emulation to '[practise] the code wherever possible'.

Readers often approached 'historical' and 'fictional' chivalric narratives as cognate reading material.[39] For medieval readers, stories about chivalric deeds, whether in chronicles or the more 'fictional' narratives of epic and romance, were still stories about chivalric deeds. The lines between truth and tale were blurry. Romances about King Arthur and the Round Table, or Charlemagne and his twelve peers, which we might distinguish as myths or legends embellished from kernels of truth, were treated as educational reading material alongside chronicles of the events and protagonists of the Hundred Years War. As Helen Cooper observes,

> Medieval literature […] records the ideology of an entire community, the values by which it represents itself to itself. Romance, as the dominant secular literary genre of the period, was at the heart of such self-representation, a means by which cultural values and ideals were recorded and maintained and promulgated.[40]

Medieval romances reflected, and reflected on, their society and its ideals. Though the genre is notoriously difficult to define given the variety it accommodated, it is often addressed in terms of its shared characteristics: its customary narrative arc, privileging a comic resolution or happy ending; its temporally and/or geographically distant settings; its inclusions of overtly fictional or fantastical elements such as monsters or magic; its aristocratic protagonists and thematic concerns of chivalry, love, and ideal behaviour; its purposefulness as reading material that was both aspirational and entertaining.[41] In romances (as in medieval society), chivalry signified knights, fighting, and the ideas that

[39] See J. Fichte, 'Caxton's Concept of "Historical Romance" within the Context of the Crusades: Conviction, Rhetoric and Sales Strategy', in *Tradition and Transformation in Medieval Romance*, ed. R. Field (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 101–13; R. Kaeuper, 'The Societal Role of Chivalry in Romance: Northwestern Europe', in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Romance*, ed. R. L. Krueger (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 97–114 (at p. 98); L. Ashe, *Fiction and History in England, 1066–1200* (Cambridge, 2007), p. 154.

[40] H. Cooper, *The English Romance in Time: Transforming Motifs from Geoffrey of Monmouth to the Death of Shakespeare* (Oxford, 2004), p. 6.

[41] See J. Simpson, *Reform and Cultural Revolution: 1350–1547* (Oxford, 2002), p. 276; K. S. Whetter, *Understanding Genre and Medieval Romance* (Aldershot, 2008); H. Cooper, 'Counter-Romance: Civil Strife and Father-Killing in the Prose Romances', in *The Long Fifteenth Century*, ed. H. Cooper and S. Mapstone (Oxford, 1997), pp. 141–62; B. Windeatt, '"Troilus" and the Disenchantment of Romance', in *Studies in Medieval English Romances: Some New Approaches*, ed. D. Brewer (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 129–47 (at pp. 129–31).

encouraged them to be more than trained thugs.[42] Romances encouraged their readership to emulate examples of bravery, martial prowess, and service to ladies, and to espouse values such as loyalty and courtesy. However, these texts were not only about instruction. They offered entertainment and wish-fulfilment; they featured stories of love and of adventure; and (seriously or playfully) they challenged or critiqued conventional ideologies, rather than upholding them unquestioningly.

When William Caxton, the first English printer, published his translation of the *The Book of the Ordre of Chyvalry* (1484), he appended an Epilogue lamenting the enervated performance of chivalry among his readers, admonishing them: 'O ye knyghtes of Englond, where is the custome and usage of noble chyvalry that was used in tho dayes?'[43] Yet Caxton's Epilogue was not only a nostalgic complaint; it offered a corrective to the unchivalric behaviour he attributed to his contemporaries. For Caxton (as for Hoccleve), the ethical improvement of 'noble gentylmen' could be furthered by appropriate reading. Caxton instructed 'knyghtes of Englond' to leave their bad habits, and instead

> rede the noble volumes of Saynt Graal, of Lancelot, of Galaad, of Trystram, of Perse Forest, of Percyval, of Gawayn and many mo. Ther shalle ye see manhode, curtosye and gentylnesse. And loke in latter dayes of the noble actes syth the conquest, as in Kyng Rychard dayes Cuer du Lyon, Edward the Fyrste and the Thyrd and his noble sones [...]. Rede Froissart. And also behold that vyctoryous and noble kynge, Harry the Fyfthe, and the capytayns under hym.[44]

What was important about stories focusing on the wars and quests of kings and knights was not always their factual truth-value, but the moral or instrumental truth they conveyed. English kings and Arthurian knights were distinguished from each other not by their historicity (or lack of it), but only by whether they pertained to the recent or distant past. Whether reading about Henry V or Lancelot, those who aspired to chivalric status were expected to emulate examples of 'manhode' (military prowess) and chivalric virtues such as courtesy and gentility.

Like chronicles, romances offered examples of what to do – and also, crucially, of what not to do. Printing Thomas Malory's *Morte Darthur* in 1485, Caxton prefaced the sprawling narrative of the adventures of Arthur's court, the transgressive love of Lancelot and Guinevere, and the treachery of Mordred that resulted in the downfall of the kingdom with an exhortation to 'doo after the

[42] Kaeuper, 'The Societal Role of Chivalry in Romance'.

[43] William Caxton, *Caxton's Own Prose*, ed. N. F. Blake (London, 1973), p. 126. This chivalric treatise was written by Ramon Llull in the thirteenth century and circulated in a variety of European languages throughout the later middle ages.

[44] *Caxton's Own Prose*, p. 126.

good and leve the evyl and it shal brynge you to good fame and renommee.'[45] Caxton even specified that the literal truth of Arthurian romance was secondary to its moral value: 'for to gyve fayth and byleve that al is trewe that is conteyned herin, ye be at your lyberte. But al is wryton for our doctryne and for to beware that we falle not to vyce ne synne, but t'excersyse and folowe vertu.'[46] But it was not all serious; Caxton's prologue promised that 'for to passe the tyme thys book shal be plesaunte to rede in.'[47]

The paratexts to Caxton's late, printed romances followed a long tradition of prologues linking historical with romance figures and touting the values of their stories. *Richard Coer de Lyon*, written at the turn of the fourteenth century just a hundred years after the death of its eponymous hero, was not far in style from the *Vie du Prince Noir*. Both were posthumous panegyrics for more or less recently deceased royal warmongers; both were strapping narratives in brisk verse:

> Lord Jhesu, kyng of glorye,
> Whyche grace and vyctorye
> Thou sente to Kyng Rychard,
> That nevere was founde coward!
> It is ful good to here in jeste
> Of his prowess and hys conqueste.[48]

The 'feel-good factor' of this opening promised a thoroughly satisfying chivalric romp: sit back and enjoy the ride, it's gonna be 'ful good'. Here, romance was a medium for telling a story about the very real King Richard I of England, and for associating him with heroic figures from the epic past about whom romances were written. In a move reminiscent of the Herald comparing the Black Prince to the Nine Worthies, *Richard Coer de Lyon* began by setting its narrative of crusading conquests within the context of other heroic exploits:

> Of Rouland & of Oliuer
> & of þe oþer dusseper, [twelve peers]
> Of Alisander & Charlmeyn
> & Ector þe gret werrer
> & of Danys le fiz Oger, [Ogier the Dane]
> Of Arthour & of Gaweyn […]
> now ichil 333 rede
> Of a king douhti of dede,

[45] *Ibid.*, p. 109.
[46] *Ibid.*, p. 109.
[47] *Ibid.*, p. 109.
[48] *Richard Coer de Lyon*, ed. Larkin, 1–6. These lines differ from their equivalents in Brunner's edition, cited hereafter. Romances circulated in often significantly different recensions, and this is reflected in the choices faced by modern editors.

King Richard, þe werrour best
Þat men findeþ in ani gest.[49]

The author concluded with the superlative figure for whom all these were fitting warm-up acts. Instead of borrowing the conventions of romance to discuss current events (as Page, the Chandos Herald and the *Gesta*-author did), here recent history was pressed into service as a promising romance. Usually treated as different genres doing different things, in fact these corpora (chivalric histories and historical romances) bear comparison very well as two sides of the coin of chivalric literature.

Romance prologues situated their heroes not only in relation to each other, but in relation to their readers, inviting them to read in certain ways. *Richard Coer de Lyon* began by declaring:

Miri it is to heren his stori
and of him to han in memorie
þat neuer no was couward![50]

Remembering King Richard and hearing a story about King Richard were intertwined. Enjoyment, ethics, and memory were bound together, and the medium through which they were linked was the story of a hero, whose lack of cowardice was worthy emulation: it was 'miri' (merry or pleasurable) to hear his story, and to have him in memory, especially since he was an epitome from whose conduct others could learn.[51] These claims are not dissimilar to the blurbs on the back of modern book jackets: prologues marketed romances as edifying and entertaining reading. Yet in this fictionalised account, Richard the Lionheart was cured of an illness by eating the flesh of a young Saracen, and forced enemy messengers to eat the boiled heads of Saracen prisoners of war. In shocking inclusions such as this transgressive cannibalism, romances did not always feature straightforwardly admirable protagonists, or fit comfortably into the ethical mould their paratexts constructed for them.

The romance that opened the *Canterbury Tales* was ascribed a similar edification/entertainment value, as Chaucer's narrator acclaimed it as noble and worth remembering:

[49] *Richard Coer de Lyon*, in *Der Mittelenglische Versroman über Richard Löwenherz*, ed. K. Brunner (Leipzig, 1913), 1–6; an edition of the Auchinleck Manuscript text is available via http://auchinleck.nls.uk (accessed 11 July 2017), 13–32.

[50] *Ibid.*, 4–6.

[51] Since memory was thought to enable prudence and moral judgement, medieval people deliberately cultivated memory (as part of their education), and they did so through reading: see M. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1990), esp. p. 156.

Whan that the Knyght had thus his tale ytoold,
In al the route nas ther yong ne oold
That he ne seyde it was a noble storie
And worthy for to drawen to memorie,
And namely the gentils everichon.[52]

Set in the aftermath of the siege of Thebes, *The Knight's Tale* focused on two brothers-in-arms who, captured and imprisoned by Duke Theseus of Athens, became rivals in their love for the Amazonian princess Emily. Chaucer's other great romance of the matter of Rome, *Troilus and Criseyde*, focused on star-crossed lovers during the Homeric siege of Troy. Warfare was the backdrop rather than the heart of the narrative, as with the Arthurian love stories of Lancelot and Guinevere or Tristan and Isolde. In contrast with Chaucer's narrative, the *Troy Book* written *c.* 1412–20 by the monk John Lydgate followed different sources in order to prioritise war over love. Moreover, Lydgate, while memorialising (and to an extent celebrating) the famous deeds of 'chivalry' of the Trojan war, offered a clerkly commentary, criticising war and violence as destructive and horrific.[53] The matter of Rome (like the other 'matters' of romance) was capacious enough for both, adaptable to different tastes and concerns.

The matter of France produced many romances, but also had its own genre in the central middle ages: the *chansons de geste*, originally performed as songs (*chansons*) celebrating the exploits (*gestes*) of a hero or noble family. Most were composed between the late eleventh and the thirteenth century, though the events on which they focused were several centuries earlier.[54] In contrast to romances, which explored the tensions between individual desires and the good of the community (for instance, the adulterous love between Lancelot and Guinevere despite the loyalty they both owed to Arthur), *chansons de geste* were epics, focusing on individuals acting for the good of the community. One of the earliest, *The Song of Roland* (*c.* 1100), was based loosely on an ambush of Charlemagne's rearguard when his army was returning to France from (Muslim) Spain in 778; in the *chanson de geste*, this became a commemoration of his vassal Roland's last stand as he chose to die for the honour of his family and France rather than call for aid (until it was too late). Many *chansons de geste* were recopied in later centuries, or – like *Renaud de Montauban* (twelfth or thirteenth century) and *Huon de Bordeaux* (late thirteenth century), which featured lords exiled from Charlemagne's court for killing the king's nephew or son when provoked – were adapted into longer French prose romances in the fifteenth century, and

[52] Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales*, in *The Riverside Chaucer*, I.3109–13.

[53] A. Lynch, '"With face pale": Melancholy Violence in John Lydgate's Troy and Thebes', in *Representing War and Violence, 1250–1600*, ed. J. Bellis and L. Slater (Woodbridge, 2016), pp. 79–94.

[54] See C. M. Jones, *An Introduction to the Chansons de Geste* (Gainesville, FL, 2014), pp. 1–25.

translated into English in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. These later *chansons de geste* sometimes included fantastical elements reminiscent of romance, such as Huon of Bordeaux's undertaking of a series of adventures in the Holy Land with the magical assistance of Oberon, King of the Fairies (of Shakespearean fame). As contiguous genres, romance, chronicle, and *chansons de geste* all engaged with chivalric figures and ideals, within different forms and with varying emphases and concerns.

Similarly, the matter of Britain focused on a 'nationalistic' set of heroes,[55] albeit universalised as Christian paragons.[56] Just as narratives of the matter of France circulated in England (and in English), so narratives of the matter of Britain developed in French. Chrétien de Troyes' late-twelfth-century French Arthurian verse romances, via thirteenth-century French prose adaptations, provided the source material for Malory's *Morte Darthur*, the quintessential narrative that connected the divisions of the Arthurian world to the civil strife of contemporary England (influencing Arthuriads from Tennyson to T. H. White). Malory lamented that in his time (amidst the political tumult of the Wars of the Roses), just as when some of Arthur's subjects supported Mordred's usurpation and contributed to the downfall of Arthur's kingdom, Englishmen were fickle:

> Lo ye all Englysshemen, se ye nat what a myschyff here was? […] thys ys a greate defaughte of us Englysshemen, for there may no thynge us please no terme. And so fared the peple at that tyme: they were better pleased with Sir Mordred than they were with the noble Kynge Arthur.[57]

In this failure to honour proper loyalties, a story about King Arthur from the distant past became the medium for present, pressing concerns for the chivalric classes. This Arthuriad even featured cannon used in a siege of the Tower of London: a very modern statement, since cannon were relatively rare in western

[55] The applicability of the term 'nationalism' to the middle ages has been the subject of much debate, in the wake of Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, 1983). Some touchstones are: T. Turville-Petre, *England the Nation: Language, Literature, and National Identity, 1290–1340* (Oxford, 1996; repr. 2002); *Imagining a Medieval English Nation*, ed. K. Lavezzo (Minneapolis, 2004), especially Turville-Petre's 'Afterword: the Brutus Prologue to *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*', pp. 340–6; A. Butterfield, *The Familiar Enemy: Chaucer, Language and Nation in the Hundred Years War* (Oxford, 2009); A. Ruddick, *English Identity and Political Culture in the Fourteenth Century* (Cambridge, 2013).

[56] T. H. Crofts and R. A. Rouse, 'Middle English Popular Romance and National Identity', in *A Companion to Medieval Popular Romance*, ed. R. L. Radulescu and C. J. Rushton (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 79–95 (p. 95); see also M. Ailes and P. Hardman, 'How English Are the English Charlemagne Romances?', in *Boundaries in Medieval Romance*, ed. N. Cartlidge (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 43–55 (pp. 53–5).

[57] Thomas Malory, *Le Morte Darthur*, ed. P. J. C. Field, 2 vols (Cambridge, 2013), I, 916.34–917.6.

Europe before the fifteenth century, and the only time they were used against the Tower of London prior to the completion of the *Morte Darthur* (1469) was in a siege during the Wars of the Roses (1460), which Malory may have witnessed.[58] Romances reflected on, and sought to shape, real life.[59] In his address to 'ye all Englysshemen', Malory not only castigated his contemporaries for their failures, but offered instruction on what (not) to do. The heroes of the matter of Britain were celebrated, but in an admonitory way.

Elsewhere, romance was a medium not only for criticising those who failed to live up to chivalric standards, but for interrogating the excesses of chivalric endeavour. The Alliterative *Morte Arthure* was an English Arthuriad composed *c.* 1400 which reworked chronicle narratives of Arthur into fantastical form. Yet unlike its sources, the Alliterative *Morte* gave detailed descriptions of 'the visceral realities of hand-to-hand combat'.[60] The chronicles' depiction of the military campaigns was violent, but the Alliterative *Morte*'s visualisation of bloody combat in all its gory detail (such as how a sword slash exposed a duellist's liver to a shaft of sunlight) certainly stood out. In this text, Arthur was celebrated as one of the Nine Worthies, but it was also suggested that his greed for conquest led him to cruelty, and his overreaching caused his downfall. This text is sometimes seen as a critique of excessive violence, as well as the way in which Arthur became a tyrant who 'tourmentes the pople'.[61]

Not all romances featured kings and their wars; many focused less on historical (or historicised) figures and more on the ethics of being, or becoming, a knight. Such quest romances were often anonymous and were 'popular' both in terms of their status (the opposite of 'high-culture' courtly romances) and their avid consumption during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries – by aristocratic, gentry, and perhaps middle class readers.[62] In *Amis and Amiloun*, two friends navigated the perils of seduction, betrayal, and leprosy while remaining true to their sworn friendship. In *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, to preserve his honour and keep his promises Gawain must seek out a green giant and

[58] P. J. C. Field, 'Fifteenth-Century History in Malory's *Morte Darthur*', in his *Malory: Texts and Sources* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 47–71 (p. 65).

[59] H. Cooper, 'When Romance Comes True', in *Boundaries in Medieval Romance*, ed. Cartlidge, pp. 13–27.

[60] A. Baden-Daintree, 'Visualising War: the Aesthetics of Violence in the Alliterative *Morte Arthure*', in *Representing War and Violence*, ed. Bellis and Slater, pp. 56–75 (p. 56).

[61] The Alliterative *Morte Arthure*, in *King Arthur's Death: The Middle English 'Stanzaic Morte Arthur' and 'Alliterative Morte Arthure'*, ed. L. D. Benson (Kalamazoo, MI, 1994), 3153. It should be said that modern interpretative instincts that grisly depictions of violence imply critique do not transfer to the cultural productions of a society steeped in the chivalric ethos (see K. Whetter, 'Genre as Context in the Alliterative *Morte Arthure*', *Arthuriana* 20.2 (2010), pp. 45–65).

[62] N. McDonald, 'A Polemical Introduction', in *Pulp Fictions of Medieval England: Essays in Popular Romance*, ed. N. MacDonald (Manchester, 2004), pp. 1–21.

voluntarily submit to a presumably fatal blow, as well as resisting the advances of a beautiful lady. While romances focused on secular endeavours and ethics, they also included the spiritual side of chivalric conduct. For Gawain to succeed (and survive), his piety and chastity are as important as his honour and prowess. Some romances side-stepped conventional quest narratives by focusing, for instance, on a penitential pilgrimage to the Holy Land to seek forgiveness for aristocratic pride (in *Sir Isumbras*); or on a female protagonist's attempts to preserve her honour through virtue and prayer (in *Emare*) as she is subjected to her own father's unwanted attentions, cast adrift in a rudderless ship, and slandered and exiled by the malicious mother of the king she eventually marries, before ultimately engineering a family reunion – engineering, that is, the customary happy ending of the romance genre. Medieval England even rewrote the classical tragedy of Orpheus (in which Orpheus attempted to reclaim his beloved Eurydice from the Underworld, but lost his chance by looking back over his shoulder to see her, breaking Hades' stipulation) to preserve the romance genre's customary narrative arc. In the fourteenth-century *Sir Orfeo*, the protagonist rescued his wife and returned to reclaim his kingdom, which his steward had tended faithfully in his absence. This was in contrast to many of the 'historical' romances, which, as in narratives ending with the downfall of Arthur's kingdom and the death of Arthur, Guinevere, Lancelot, and most of the other knights, deployed the tropes of romance, but categorically not the genre's conventional narrative arc.

Parodic Chivalry: Satire and Pastiche

Not all chivalric texts, then, were swashbuckling. Just as the *Gesta* mobilised the chivalric mode in the service of a political cause, so other texts adopted the mode to critique it from within. This is true of the remarkable and unpredictable *Les Voeux du Héron* (*The Vows of the Heron*, late 1340s). Modelled on the 'vowing poem' form exemplified by *Les Voeux du Paon*, it was set in the court of Edward III and narrated the king's decision to declare war on France, piqued by being presented by Robert d'Artois with a roasted heron, the symbol of cowardice. The setting was elegant and courtly: the king is 'Edouart le menbré' ('Edward the valiant'), motivated by suitably exalted sentiments, 'Amours et hardemens' ('Love and courage').[63] He was compared to a familiar cast: 'Ector, Acillet ne Paris,/ Ne le roy Alixandre' ('Hector, Achilles or Paris,/ Or Alexander').[64] However, as the vows exchanged between the assembled company escalated, they became more

[63] *The Vows of the Heron (Les Voeux du héron): A Middle French Vowing Poem*, ed. and trans. J. L. Grigsby and N. J. Lacy (New York and London, 1992), 275, 316, pp. 46–7, 48–51.
[64] *Ibid.*, 110–12, pp. 38–9.

and more unsettling. The final vow was made by Queen Philippa (Froissart's patron), who declared that if her unborn child was not born in France, she would kill both it and herself. The king was visibly distressed and brought the vowing game to a hasty end. The poem began as a chivalric pastime, but ended as something much darker; its editors flirt with calling it 'an anti-war poem', or at least a text 'whose cutting irony undermines the validity of militaristic posturing'.[65] Elsewhere, John L. Grigsby assesses Edward III's portrayal: initially, 'assis à table lors de son banquet, il est rêveur tout comme le roi Arthur dès son apparition dans le *Conte due graal*' ('sitting at his table before the banquet, he is as dreamy as Arthur before the vision in the *Tale of the Grail*'); but by the end he is 'dupe et fantoche, plutôt que chef' ('a pawn and a puppet, more than a leader').[66] *Les Voeux du Héron* serves as a reminder that the chivalric by no means always functioned as a cloak of respectability thrown over the ambitious or bloodthirsty actions of monarchs. Sometimes, far from the natural key in which their praises were sung, chivalry was the measure against which they were found wanting. As DeMarco argues, where 'warfare in the chivalric biography provides an occasion for the knight to perform his chivalric identity', in this poem the 'chivalric ethos' is severed from the context that should 'give it meaning'.[67]

Another way in which chivalric literature was critiqued from within was by satire and sometimes outright parody. Some romances, especially those later in the genre's development, played upon its motifs in ways that undercut the chivalric values it customarily espoused. The most famous example is Chaucer's *Tale of Sir Thopas*, offered as a 'spelle/ Of bataille and of chivalry', 'of a knyght was fair and gent'.[68] The tale mocked popular romance by focusing on a foppish knight who quested for a fairy queen (who may have been non-existent) and encountered a monstrous opponent (from whom he bravely ran away). Just before he was interrupted by the Host (who declared 'Namoore of this, for Goddes dignitee' and 'Thy drasty rymyng is nat worth a toord!')[69] Chaucer deployed a familiar romance motif, the 'hall of fame' topos:

> Men speken of romances of prys,
> Of Horn child and of Ypotys,
> Of Beves and sir Gy,
> Of sir Lybeux and Pleyndamour –

[65] *Ibid.*, p. 16.
[66] J. L. Grigsby, 'L'intertextualité interrompue par l'histoire: le cas des *Voeux du Héron*', in *Courtly Literature: Culture and Context: Selected Papers from the 5th Triennial Congress of the International Courtly Literature Society, Dalfsen, The Netherlands, 9–16 August, 1986*, ed. K. Busby and E. Kooper (Amsterdam and Philadelphia, 1990), pp. 239–48 (p. 246).
[67] DeMarco, 'Inscribing the Body with Meaning', p. 32.
[68] Chaucer, 'The Tale of Sir Thopas', in *The Riverside Chaucer*, 893–4, 715, pp. 216, 213.
[69] *Ibid.*, 919, 930, p. 216.

> But Sir Thopas, he bereth the flour
> Of roial chivalry![70]

Part of the comedy was the invocation of figures from more serious romances. This is a more modest line-up than the full-blown Nine Worthies, more B-list than A-list, and it served to nominate some of the funniest offenders among the tail-rhyme 'romances of prys' – but it also, of course, performed the same manoeuvre that those romances did with a straight face as they situated themselves within the chivalric canon. Parody, then, was not an 'either or' binary.[71] When Chaucer gave his tongue-in-cheek description of Thopas, he specified that he was better than other homegrown heroes. The figures to whom the inept protagonist was compared – King Horn, Bevis of Hampton, Guy of Warwick, and Sir Libeaus Desconus among them – were chivalric paragons distinguished for their success in love and war. Most of them belonged to the 'matter of England' (Horn, Bevis, and Guy)[72] or to the 'matter of Britain' (Libeaus Desconus is a son of Gawain, King Arthur's nephew). Thopas himself, whose main achievements were to ride around and sleep in the woods, was described as surpassing all of them in a ridiculous (but utterly conventional) superlative. This 'brilliant parody of everything that can go wrong' in Middle English romance created parodic effects through its stock vocabulary, jaunty tail-rhyme rhythm, and empty or burlesque redeployment of romance motifs.[73] The narrator's proposition that Sir Thopas trumped these figures was a playful way of reinforcing Chaucer's mockery of the shortcomings of both English romance and his own pilgrim persona.

One tail-rhyme romance ripe for the spoofing was the fifteenth-century *Sir Torrent of Portingale*, described by its editor as 'a rollicking tale of love and adventure', a 'prodigious and often ostentatious display of chivalric prowess', which 'serves up deeds of derring-do episode after episode, his staple aesthetic being

[70] *Ibid.*, 897–902, p. 216.

[71] Indeed, Thopas seems to have been understood by medieval readers as a romance to be set alongside other (more serious) romances despite its aesthetic inferiority or comedy. See J. A. Burrow, '*Sir Thopas* in the Sixteenth Century', in *Middle English Studies*, ed. D. Gray and E. G. Stanley (Oxford, 1983), pp. 69–91; G. Wright, 'Modern Inconveniences: Rethinking Parody in the Tale of Sir Thopas', *Genre* 30 (1997), pp. 167–94 (at pp. 189–90).

[72] This fourth 'matter', the matter of England, is a twentieth-century category; lacking the explicit historicity of the other matters, it is nonetheless a helpful way of understanding romances that deal with heroes associated with medieval England (such as Guy of Warwick, Bevis of Hampton and Richard the Lionheart) on a nationalistic model similar to that of the matters of Rome, France and Britain. See R. Field, '*Waldef* and the Matter of/with England', in *Medieval Insular Romance: Translation and Innovation*, ed. J. Weiss, Jennifer Fellows, and M. Dickson (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 25–39 (pp. 30–1), and S. Crane, *Insular Romance: Politics, Faith, and Culture in Anglo-Norman and Middle English Literature* (Berkeley, 1986), pp. 13–14.

[73] H. Cooper, *Oxford Guides to Chaucer: The Canterbury Tales* (Oxford, 1989), p. 301.

fearless chivalric heroics in the face of fearsome and surely insurmountable odds'. As James Wade continues, readers in search of 'complex philosophical investigations or subtle psychological portraits' found them few and far between, 'and to read *Torrent* with a mind to privilege such qualities is to miss the point', as this text is 'entirely uninterested in masking its abundant efforts to feed the expectations of late-medieval readers of popular literature […] the author seems to adopt a strategy of amplifying and multiplying established romance tropes. There are magic swords, magic horses, and token rings; lions, griffins, leopards, bears, and apes; two child abductions, three rudderless boats, three fights between father and sons; so many dragon fights that at one point Torrent loses count (line 2302), and so many giants that Torrent does not even bother keeping count (line 2303)'. Readers searching for a 'bash-up physical adventure […] found exactly what they were looking for'.[74] *Torrent* was not a parody, but it was something analogous: fully self-aware of its place within a repertoire, and the conventions and expectations of that repertoire, it provided a fascinating analogue to those first critics of *Sir Thopas*, who treated it as a perfectly serious offering. The satisfaction of any set-piece derives from its fulfilment of generic expectation, just as Bond fans wait for the utterance of 'shaken not stirred' and 'The name's Bond, James Bond.' The studied conventionality of romances like *Torrent* indicates how chivalric literature, steeped in its own patterns, could exploit their familiarity. 'Here bygynneth a good tale/ Of Torrente of Portyngale', and so it certainly does. What could be called romance-by-numbers might also be described as 'fundamentally invested in the conventions of genre fiction'.[75]

This did not forestall a certain predictability and comedic weariness inhering within romance memes. The early thirteenth-century Occitan *Jaufre* played on this to excellent effect in its depiction of a self-engendered and ludicrous quest undertaken by Arthur's court. On the surface, *Jaufre* deployed the tropes and language of traditional romance. 'Readers of *Jaufre* accustomed to taking a poet's words of direct address to his audience at face value will find a great deal of unequivocal praise of the Round Table. Arthur was the bravest and most accomplished king of his time, and praise of him and of the exploits of his chosen knights will never die […] From the beginning, however, there are strong indications of an ironic stance toward Arthur's court and indeed toward the whole Arthurian legend.'[76] The poem is prefaced with an episode seemingly designed to expose the preposterousness of the Round Table. The Feast of Pentecost cannot begin, declared the king, until he had seen a marvel; when none appeared, after a tedious interval, the king and company set off to find one. Arthur ended up

[74] *Sir Torrent of Portingale*, ed. J. Wade (Kalamazoo, MI, 2017).
[75] *Ibid.*, pp. 1–2.
[76] *Jaufre: An Occitan Arthurian Romance*, ed. and trans. R. G. Arthur (London, 1992, repr. 2014), p. xix.

carried off through the forest by a horned beast, who dangled him over the edge of a cliff; his frightened knights used their clothes as a soft landing, until the ingenious beast simply moved to a point further along the precipice, leaving a lot of naked knights and a large pile of clothes in the wrong place. As the beast leapt with Arthur in his jaws, however, he transformed into a knight, revealing the whole fiasco to have been a ruse devised to satisfy the king's desire for an adventure, so that the company could finally eat. Its editor calls this opening 'a completely ersatz "adventure", cooked up only to be an apparent fulfillment of the court's need for a *story* of adventure'. Moreover, it is one from which no-one came out well: 'neither the King nor the Round Table knights display the qualities for which romances generally praise Arthurian courts', resulting in 'a total loss of dignity' for all concerned.[77]

Where *Sir Thopas* mocked chivalric romance by featuring an inept protagonist, other texts deployed non-aristocratic protagonists to mock chivalry and its genres. The fifteenth-century *Tournament of Tottenham* spoofed the idealised focus of the genre with its lower-class cast imitating aristocratic behaviour. In this short burlesque, peasants armed with flails and wearing sheep-skin armour competed in a tournament for the hand of the local reeve's daughter, who looked on with her pet hen in her lap. As a satire, this poem exposed the crude sense of conflict and competition that the trappings of chivalry elsewhere elevated to noble and admirable undertakings. Emulation could constitute interrogation.

Chivalric literature contained all the components for its own ironisation, and yet – rather like Samuel Richardson's novel *Pamela* (1740) sharing popularity with its parody *Shamela* (1741) – they did not threaten its high seriousness and inspiration at all in other contexts. The genre coexisted with its own send-up, as it did with its critique. Chivalric literature was, ultimately, expansive enough to inspire and to entertain; to be a vehicle both for propaganda and pastiche.

[77] *Ibid.*, p. xx.

13

Manuals of Warfare and Chivalry

MATTHEW BENNETT

In an era when the social elite had both rights and obligations as regards the use of violence, it was natural that there was a great deal of interest in how these should be conducted. Rights included the opportunity to pursue disputes through the mechanism of feud as a form of legal judgement; obligations involved military service to a superior individual who might, or might not, represent an actor in what in modern terms would be considered the organisation and direction of violence as a tool of the state. Since medieval states were mostly centred on monarchy and personal rule, the lines between this and any abstract sense of the state were inevitably blurred. Above all was the concept of the Christian God as the final arbiter in all terrestrial disputes, to whom warriors owed both their status and their duty to behave in an appropriate manner on the field of battle and in wider aspects of military conflict.

Although it is obvious to a modern reader that in order to learn how to do something one should consult a manual, when it comes to appreciating the social aspects of learning – imitation and emulation – these are is still acquired by working alongside expert practitioners. In the medieval centuries this factor was considerably emphasised. Having said that, there was indeed a literary tradition concerning instruction in military affairs. By the later middle ages the trickle of information available for serious military education had almost become a flood, with a much wider distribution of ideas made possible by the invention of printing. This chapter will consider a range of such texts, some of which are recognisably instructive and directive in nature and others which are part of a much wider social context: tales of heroes in both poetry and prose, mostly in the vernacular, but also in the 'official' languages of the Latin West and the Greek East. Although there are parallel texts in Arabic and other languages, it falls outside the scope of this study to include them.

The single most important name for understanding this topic is that of Flavius Vegetius Renatus, an obscure late Roman official of the early fifth century who wrote a short text on the practice of warfare and the reform of the imperial military. He calls it an 'epitome', which is to say an abbreviation, or perhaps a distillation, of wisdom on the topic, and it is anything but original in its style or

content. Yet it came to dominate writing about what used to be called the 'Art of War' above all other classical texts for a millennium. Not until the Renaissance in fifteenth-century letters (in large part due to the fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks in 1453 and the subsequent diaspora of intellectuals, combined with the arrival of printing) was its pre-eminence challenged. Even then, it was one of the earliest books published in English by William Caxton, in 1489. As a result, the *De Re Militari*, as the work is known (a title as unoriginal as its contents), will provide a thread through what follows, as it continually pops up throughout the centuries in various editions both in its original Latin and increasingly, from the thirteenth century onwards, in translation in a range of western European vernaculars.[1]

Vegetius divided his work into four books. The first considers the importance of recruitment, training and building the camp as the Romans did at the end of a day's march. Book Two deals specifically with the 'Ancient Legion': its organisation, ranks and duties, the skills required of the soldiers, musicians, pay and promotion (all rather mixed up in the text). Book Three is better laid out, beginning with the significance of logistics and maintaining the health of soldiers on campaign and the issues of handling difficult terrain, such as crossing a large river. This develops into a discussion of appropriate strategy in the face of the enemy and the feelings of soldiers faced with battle. Vegetius then goes into more detail about specific formations, including the deployment of cavalry (on the flanks), the use of reserves, choosing the right tactics, and enabling a withdrawal in the face of the enemy when battle has been refused. Book Four briefly covers the art of fortification, preparations for a siege (as both attacker and defender), the use of engines and mines against the walls. The fifth, and final, book covers naval warfare, its precepts, ship-building, navigation, maritime and meteorological advice, and how to surprise an enemy at sea, concluding with suggestions on the best places to fight and the techniques of boarding and combat.

So much of the material is nostalgic and refers directly to the military arrangements which were specific to the Roman Empire at its height that at first glance the durability of the text seems surprising, not least because of its focus on the infantry army – the legions – for which Rome was renowned. Yet, in the centuries following the collapse of the imperial order in the West, from the mid fifth century onwards, the structures that supported this system had all but disappeared. It presupposed a centrally organised regime with a strong tax base and both the economy and the technology to create dominance at land and sea, with cities, fortifications, ports, arms factories and shipyards as the most important factors. The sub-Roman world, with its medley of successor states and a new social order which had lost its collaborative, urban roots and become a largely

[1] *Vegetius: Epitome of Military Science*, trans. N. P. Milner (Liverpool, 1993).

rural and hierarchical set-up of lords and retainers, looked very different: hence the shift to the use of small armies in which the dominant group fought on horseback. This is not to fall into the old trap of speaking of the 'Triumph of Cavalry', as Sir Charles Oman and others did at the end of the nineteenth century; but there can be no doubt that the citizen army of foot-soldiers, fortifications and big fleets fell into desuetude. Warfare became much smaller in operational scale, and many of the assumptions made by Vegetius seem to have become irrelevant.

So why did the text become so popular?[2] One reason may be the significance of authority in the mind-set of the era; rather like the Fathers of the Church (who were contemporary with the work's creation), Vegetius was the touchstone for military knowledge. Also, there is a brief section at the end of Book Three that contains two dozen aphorisms about warfare that proved to be useful, or were certainly repeated as such, for a millennium. As a result, we shall return to *De Re Militari* throughout what follows to see what use succeeding generations made of Vegetius.

Byzantine Texts

Although they are in a different language from the Latin of Vegetius, it is important briefly to survey the corpus of Greek texts from 600AD onwards, which provide insights into how the authors of that tradition considered the Byzantine emperors should make war. The first work in this section is actually attributed to the emperor Maurice (r. 582–602): the *Strategikon*, which became a model for Byzantine armies for three centuries. A work known as the *Taktika* compiled for Leo VI (r. 866–912) at the beginning of the tenth century is virtually identical.[3]

George Dennis wrote that 'the Strategikon is an original work without any literary pretensions … intended for the average commanding officer and was written in a language he could understand'.[4] The layout of the manual in twelve books is pragmatic and logical, taking the reader from training the individual soldier and the responsibilities of officers through military formations at unit and army level to higher levels of strategy, the importance of orders of march and battle plans. It is also a mine of information about military equipment and the management of infantry, cavalry and siege operations. Of particular interest is the ethnographic nature of the work's composition. The general is given a detailed description of Byzantium's many opponents in war, their native style

[2] C. Allmand, *The De Re Militari of Vegetius: The Reception, Transmission and Legacy of a Roman Text in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2011) is the essential text for the topic.

[3] *Maurice's Strategikon: Handbook of Byzantine Military Strategy*, ed. and trans. G. T. Dennis (Philadelphia, 1984), pp. xii–xiii.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. xv.

of fighting and how best to counter them. Specifically this means the cavalry armies of the Persians, nomadic forces such as the Avars and the Turks, the Franks and the Slavs. Each opponent has its own strengths and weaknesses; but for the purposes of this study it is worth concentrating on the westerners. They are described as:

> Daring and impetuous … they consider even a short retreat a disgrace. They calmly despise death and fight violently in hand-to-hand combat either on horseback or on foot. If hard pressed in cavalry actions they dismount at a single prearranged signal and line up on foot … They are easily ambushed along the flanks and to the rear of their battle line, for they do not concern themselves at all with scouts and the other security measures. Their ranks are easily broken by a simulated flight and a sudden turning back against them. Above all … one must avoid engaging in pitched battles … make use of well-planned ambushes, sneak attacks, and stratagems … (oppose them on) rugged and difficult ground. On such terrain this enemy cannot attack successfully because they are using lances.[5]

It could be said that this brief characterisation is an accurate description of Latin armies in the East throughout the crusade era and into the fifteenth century! However, as will be shown in later examples, the story is more complicated than that.

The tenth century saw the production of other works relating to the particular circumstances of an era when the Byzantine Empire was expanding again. In *c.* 965, Emperor Nikephoros Phokas II, a noted warrior, compiled a treatise under the title of *Praecepta Militaria*.[6] This described operations against the Arabs of Northern Syria and emphasised the importance of the infantry arm working in cooperation with heavy cavalry on armoured horses (*katafraktoi* or cataphracts). The work focussed on camp, line of march and battle formations, presupposing a proactive strategy. In contrast, a couple of decades later *De Velitatione* (as it is known) dealt with local commanders defending the borders of Asia Minor against Arab incursions.[7] The response to aggressive raiding of this nature was to avoid battle and instead to shadow the enemy forces and then ambush on their return when they were laden with booty. This approach was epitomised as 'dogging and pouncing' and was similar to the French response to English raids in the Hundred Years War. Another work of the same time deals

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 119–20.

[6] See E. McGeer, *Sowing the Dragon's Teeth: Byzantine Warfare in the Tenth Century*, (Cambridge, MA, 1995), pp. 3–78.

[7] See G. T. Dennis, *Three Byzantine Military Treatises: Text, Translation and Notes* (Cambridge, MA, 1985), pp. 145–244. The Latin title is rather confusing and is usually translated as 'On Skirmishing', although it is the strategy and the tactics of guerrilla warfare that are explained.

with campaigns in Bulgaria, including instructions on marching in enemy territory and how to take precautions against ambush.[8] This topic was to become of particular importance to Byzantine and Crusader armies at the end of the eleventh century in relation to dealing with nomadic horse archer enemies like the Turks and Pechenegs.

As a cautionary note, although all the works in Greek just described were indeed pragmatic in nature and offered a great deal of practical guidance, they were also part of a rhetorical dialectic in which the Byzantine nobility were expected to engage. They were probably as much for demonstration and performance as utilisation. Hence there is lot of borrowing and repetition in these treatises as is appropriate for the celebration of intellectual authority. They can, though, still be usefully mined for material which sheds valuable light on the military expertise of the generals and commanders of the empire, especially in comparison with narrative chronicles of the crusader era.

The Carolingian Empire

For a long time the success of the Franks in expanding their kingdom – from northern Gaul to the Pyrenees, across the Alps into Italy, into Germany as far as the Elbe and into Pannonia (modern Hungary) along the middle Danube – was attributed to their use of cavalry armies. In fact, and unsurprisingly, Charlemagne's triumphs were due to good organisation, planning and logistics. For example, he deliberately emulated Julius Caesar by building a bridge across the Rhine and consolidated his conquests with a system of fortifications, especially in Germany. The capitularies (administrative acts) produced by his government in April 806, for example, concerning the mobilisation of the army, set out the obligations, equipment and tasks required of military forces in great detail. The campaigns against the Avar Empire in the 790s were supported by a Danube fleet and pontoon bridges, techniques not seen since the end of Roman dominance.

This is not to deny that a culture of elite mounted warfare existed at the same time. Indeed, the chronicle of Nithard describes cavalry exercises at Worms in the 870s performed before the Frankish kings Charles the Bald and Louis in a way that prefigures later tournaments:

> For exercise they arranged frequent games in the following way. People would get together in a place suitable for a show and with the whole crowd standing on either side, Saxons, Gascons, Austrasians, Bretons in teams of equal numbers first rushed forth from both sides and raced at full speed against each other … all the young men rushed forward, [brandishing] their lances and spurring on their

[8] *Ibid.*, under the title 'Campaign Organization and Tactics', pp. 247–327.

> horses, pursuing by turns whoever took flight. It was a show worth seeing because of its excellent execution and discipline.[9]

A little earlier, around 856, the distinguished abbot and scholar Hrabanus Maurus, who had written a commentary on a very military book of the Bible, Maccabees (amongst many others), also made additions to *De Re Militari*.[10] Specifically, he included a section on horsemanship which was in keeping with the equestrian interests of his times. The triumph of the Franks was one of logistics and measured advances in which the role of the cavalry was to act as *scarae*, small troops launching devastating and destabilising raids, behind which the main forces could advance and consolidate. This does not mean that they had no use in battle, but such combats were rare. Writing about Louis IV's victory over a Viking force in 943, the chronicler Richer describes a successful cavalry charge by the king's mounted bodyguard against the enemy fighting on foot: 'Crowding together, they charged forward into their ranks, slaughtering and killing, and emerging in unbroken formation. Then they turned around and drove through them once more, shattering their lines.'[11] This is as good a description of a disciplined cavalry action as could be found in any era.

The Normans

Although the Normans were but one group of Franks, their reputation as warriors and the plentiful sources describing their activities allow us to choose them to represent the next stage of development. Originally of Scandinavian stock and culture, they became so thoroughly 'Frenchified' by the mid eleventh century as to have introduced chivalry into England with the Norman Conquest. Not all scholars would agree with the use of the term as early as this, but the essentials of the cult of knighthood, together with its restrictions on behaviour and obligations to non-combatants, did begin to appear at this time. Some of the origins of this lay in the Peace and Truce of God movement, created by bishops seeking to curb secular violence in the late tenth century. There was also the impact of the papal reform movement, one of the leaders of which was Gregory VII who aimed to create a *militia Christi*, through which to utilise the energies of knights in a positive way. Only a decade after his death in 1085, Pope Urban II preached the recovery of Jerusalem as a means by which knights could achieve salvation

[9] J. McClelland, 'Sport, the Primary Sources: 600–1700', in his *Body and Mind: Sport in Europe from the Roman Empire to the Renaissance* (London, 2007), p. 38.

[10] Allmand, *Vegetius*, pp. 214–16.

[11] Richer of St Rémi, *Histories*, ed. and trans. J. Lake (Cambridge, Mass, 2011), I, bk 2, pp. 242–4.

through practising their military skills. This was a transformation of attitudes to warfare and one with which the Normans were closely involved.

At this time there was no manual laying down rules for behaviour, but overall the influence of the papacy and currents in secular society meant much the same. In relation to the former, the 'Penitential Ordinance' imposed upon the victorious Normans after the battle of Hastings provides a sliding scale of penances in relation to sins committed in war.[12] Foremost, of course, is the act of killing, but this is differentiated according to how much the perpetrator was aware of the act, or whether he fought without account or by striking from a distance, such as an archer, and was unable to discern whom he had killed or wounded. Furthermore, the Ordinance makes a distinction based on the status of William, so that:

> 8. Whoever before the consecration of the king killed anyone offering resistance as he moved through the kingdom in search of supplies, is to do one year's penance for each person slain. Anyone, however, who killed not in search of supplies but in looting, is to do three years' penance for each person slain.
>
> 9. Whoever killed a man after the king's coronation is to do penance as for wilful homicide, with this exception, that if the person killed or struck was in arms against the king the penance shall be as above.

The focus of the Ordinance is on the legality of any action relating to royal power (and what would later be called the King's Peace). For, as clause 6 explains, 'they fought in a public war' legitimised by papal authority. Furthermore, anyone who was in arms against the crowned king was a traitor – deserving of death – and so could be killed as a form of justice. This explains why the Ordinance, most likely imposed by the papal legate at the synod of Winchester held at Easter 1070, does not refer to William's brutal treatment of northern shires in the preceding winter, for his victims there were in rebellion against the crown and hence deserved the severest punishment. That no distinction was made between armed warriors and non-combatants is, therefore, not surprising.

At issue here is the very nature of chivalry. Modern commentators have often criticised the code for failing to live up to its supposed standards for protecting people in war, claiming that it was a hypocritical creed. But, as clause 10 of the Ordinance indicates, 'adulteries or rapes or fornications' (only too likely occurrences in war) were also sins requiring penance. Whilst it might be considered normal that a religious instruction would frown on sexual misdemeanours, this was also a concern for secular rulers. Violence against women – as against any

[12] See: H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'Bishop Ermenfried of Sion and the Penitential Ordinance following the Battle of Hastings', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 20 (1969), pp. 241–2 for the original text. A translation appears in R. Allen Brown's *The Norman Conquest: Documents of Medieval History* (London, 1984), pp. 156–7.

vulnerable group – was considered illegitimate, comparable to the violation of Church property and looting in general; but actually controlling such behaviour was far from easy. Furthermore, the traditional rules dealing with the capture of fortified places could also lead to terrible abuse against non-combatant populations. Two contrasting examples from the conquest era are the surrender of Exeter in January 1067 and the capture of York two years later. In the first case, despite considerable material loss, William did not punish the rebellious citizens because they negotiated a peace. Whereas at York, following its capture by rebels in collusion with Viking invaders, he fought a battle to recover the place, which was in effect an 'open city', and put it to the sack. He then went on to carry out the 'Harrying of the North', which was admittedly cruel, but justified in his mind as punishment for rebellion.

According to the Anglo-Norman chronicler Orderic Vitalis, this 'scorched earth' policy resulted in the deaths of thousands of men, women and children through starvation.[13] The evidence for this devastation is visible in the Domesday Book entries of two decades later.[14] How then can we speak of the introduction of chivalry into England in 1066? Well, first because William was demonstrating that he was a most English king by carrying out a traditional punishment, and secondly that the protection of chivalry did not extend to whole populations. Contrast the 'Harrying of the North' with his tolerance with high-ranking nobles, such as the Mercian earls Edwin and Morcar, or most significantly of all the atheling Edgar (who might be considered the greatest threat to William through his consanguinity with the late Edward) who was pensioned off and ended his days in peaceful retirement. The only English nobleman to be judicially killed was Waltheof, sometime earl of Northumbria, after he had twice been forgiven, following the 1075 rebellion (not by the English, but by the sons of the Conqueror's Companions); and this was not an act of war, but for breaking the peace one time too many.

So, the problem for modern observers seems to be that too often they are judging the laws of chivalry by the standards of the Geneva Conventions rather than by the standards of the time in which they operated. Comparison with the warfare of William's sons further supports this assertion. In particular, there is the case of Conan of Rouen, whose punishment for leading a revolt against the young Duke Henry in 1090 was to be thrown from the castle tower.[15] There is more than an

[13] *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. and trans. M. Chibnall, 6 vols (Oxford, 1980 etc.), II, bk IV, pp. 231–5.

[14] J. J. N. Palmer, 'War and Domesday Waste', in *Armies, Chivalry and Warfare in Medieval Britain and France: Proceedings of the 1995 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. M. Strickland (Stamford, 1998), pp. 256–75.

[15] *Orderic Vitalis*, IV, bk VII, ch. 15, pp. 220–6. Conan, the son of the richest man in the city, 'arrogantly maintained against the duke a huge permanent household of armed men and dependants', above his station, pp. 220–1.

element of class war in this response as the presence or absence of 'nobility' was used by contemporary chroniclers to praise or castigate individuals' actions in war.

A New Knighthood

The increasing popularity of the Jerusalem pilgrimage in the eleventh century led to an unexpected outcome. While the city was under the control of Fatimid Egypt, Christian pilgrims were generally safe, but the arrival of Turkish invaders caused disruption. Even then, it was not until after the death of the Seljuk sultan Malik-shah in 1092, when the city fell into hands of a Turcoman band, that the situation became impossible. This, combined with the request of Byzantine emperor Alexios I Komnenos for mercenary forces from the West in April 1095, led to Pope Urban II's appeal at the Council of Clermont in November to rescue oriental Christians from oppression.[16] The outcome was the military pilgrimage known today as crusade (although the word itself was not used until the thirteenth century). Urban's innovation was to legitimise violence in the service of the Church, with the benefits of pilgrimage – a plenary indulgence for participants – now available to fighting knights. This radical step proved very popular, the success of the First Crusade and the recovery of the Holy City demonstrating its value. Defending the new territories won in the first decade or so of the Kingdom of Jerusalem required enough warriors who were up to the task. If the declaration of crusade had been top-down, the creation of a band of volunteer knights to protect pilgrims from attack as they visited the River Jordan was bottom-up. In 1129, the papacy accepted the idea of military monks, influenced by the Cistercian Order's Bernard of Clairvaux whose call for a New Knighthood created the Knights of the Temple.

The Templars were the first of many military orders, soon followed by the Hospitallers (whose original and continuing motivation was the care of the sick), the Teutonic Order and others, especially in Iberia where the conflict with Muslims preceded the crusades. These organisations sprang from the knightly class and embodied its knowledge of warfare. This had been passed down orally and through practice for generations; but it was not written down until the mid thirteenth century. The document which first captures the practical aspects of warfare is *La Régle du Temple*, the ordinances of the Knights Templar, which are now extant in a later version, but crucially in the language of the knights themselves: Old French. What the Rule provides is an original text on warfare, untainted by classical imitation, describing the management of a cavalry regiment, in peace, on garrison duty, on campaign, on the march and even tactically in battle. It is a true product

[16] See, as one example among many, P. Frankopan, *The First Crusade: The Call from the East* (London, 2012).

of practical chivalry.[17] Although couched in the form of a series of ordinances (*retrais*), in some important sections it becomes a narrative of how to operate a campaign and conduct battle tactics to best effect. Reading the Rule enables the historian to see the role of the individual knight brother, together with his horses, squire and servants. A section on the hierarchy of the order also provides information on military organisation in secular forces: the seneschal, who was responsible for logistics; the marshal, who managed the stables and equipment; and the confanonier (standard-bearer), who was in charge of the squires, discipline and carrying the order's banner in battle. This last duty was crucial to controlling the knights on the battlefield as they were organised in troops of ten, each with a commander and their own banner. This enabled the Templars to maintain discipline and order, to deliver their charge to best effect, and to return to their banners to regroup for further actions. No other source demonstrates so clearly how well the *chevaliers* of the period understood cavalry warfare. This meant not just the military monks, but those in the secular world as well. For the latter, though, it is necessary to turn to a very different form of information from which those knights imbibed the important lessons of their craft.

Chansons de Geste

In the twelfth century, with an origin in French-speaking territories, there developed a body of texts featuring epic tales called the *chansons de geste*. Literally this means 'songs of great deeds' and the *Song of Roland* is considered to be the earliest work in this genre, with the Oxford manuscript version dating to the 1140s.[18] The content of these songs may precede their written versions by some time, as is suggested by the popularity of naming boys Roland and Oliver a century earlier. The surviving texts of the other songs are mostly from the 1170s onwards. According to David Crouch, this was the formative period for chivalric ideology, made visible by the beginning of tournaments in north-western France.[19] The work most representative of this movement is *L'Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal*, which, unlike the *chansons* about legendary heroes, features the life and career of William Marshal, an Englishman of modest birth who rose to fame and fortune through exercise of his knightly skills.[20] This led

[17] *The Rule of the Templars: The French Text*, ed. and trans. J. M. Upton-Ward (Woodbridge, 1992). Also, as an appendix: M. Bennett, '*La Régle du Temple* as a Military Manual or How to Deliver a Cavalry Charge', pp. 175–88.

[18] *La Chanson de Roland*, ed. G. J. Brault (Oxford, 1990).

[19] D. Crouch, *Tournament* (London, 2006).

[20] *History of William Marshal*, ed. A. J. Holden, trans. S. Gregory, 3 vols (London, 2002–06). D. Crouch provides the historical context with an excellent introduction and bibliography, pp. 23–54.

to his becoming favoured by Angevin rulers, notably Eleanor of Aquitaine and her son King John. He was made earl of Pembroke, and was even briefly regent of England (1216–19) and the war-leader against an attempted French invasion. He is credited with leading the royalist forces at Lincoln in 1217 at the age of seventy, surprising, overwhelming and capturing a Franco-Baronial force besieging the castle there, effectively bringing the war on land to an end at one blow. The poem was dictated by William's devoted squire Jean d'Early and composed in the 1220s, bringing it very close to its subject's lifetime. Despite this and the title 'History', there is a great deal of romance, in the style of Chrétien de Troyes, and conventional *chanson* style in the work, especially when it deals with William's chivalric exertions. However, there are also many descriptions of warfare which bring new depth to an understanding of chivalric culture and practice.

The work of John Gillingham in particular has been instructive in explaining that war was conducted in a pragmatic and brutal way through ravaging and destruction during which apparent non-combatants were both targets and victims.[21] The chivalric protection of surrender and ransom was the preserve of those of knightly and noble status, while low-born foot soldiers, especially archers and crossbowmen, might expect death or mutilation at the hands of their social superiors. To some extent, war was a game for their social betters, though, learnt at the tournament, where not only individual skills but also team tactics and a broader understanding of coordinating horse and foot (*equites et pedites* was the standard formula for describing a land force) on campaign and in battle were developed. Large-scale encounters in the open field were of course rare, but the lessons learnt from the tournament could be applied very successfully against a range of opponents. So, for example, Richard I's defeat of Saladin at Arsuf on the Syrian coast in 1191 was a product of training exercises which had taken place back home in England and France.[22] In this sense at least the written texts of songs and tales performed after the tournaments represent a coherent

[21] There are too many valuable contributions to list in detail. See for example: J. B. Gillingham: 'William the Bastard at War', in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to R. Allen Brown*, ed. C. Harper-Bill, C. Holdsworth and J. L. Nelson (Woodbridge, 1989), pp. 141–58; '1066 and the Introduction of Chivalry into England', in *Law and Government in Medieval England and Normandy: Essays in Honour of Sir James Holt*, ed. G. Garnett and J. Hudson (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 31–55; 'Holding to the Rules of War (*Bellica Uira Tenentes*): Right Conduct before, during and after Battle in North Western Europe in the Eleventh Century', in *Anglo-Norman Studies XXIX*, ed. C. P. Lewis (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 1–15; 'Women, Children and the Profits War', in *Gender and Historiography: Studies in the Earlier Middle Ages in Honour of Pauline Stafford*, ed. J. Nelson and S. Johns (London, 2012), pp. 61–74.

[22] See M. Bennett, 'Why Chivalry? The Origins and Expressions of a Socio-Military Ethos', in *The Chivalric Ethos and Military Professionalism*, ed. M. Fissel and D. Trim (Leiden, 2003), pp. 41–64.

body of literature designed to improve military techniques, effectively having the same didactic impact as more conventional manuals.

Medieval Vegetius

As has already been highlighted, the *De Re Militari* of Vegetius was an enormously popular text in the medieval period. But this should not be understood to mean that it was used as a kind of aide-memoire by commanders on campaign, in battle or during sieges. Rather, in the twelfth century the work was under consideration by philosophers for its moral and social teachings. For John of Salisbury in his *Policraticus* (1159), Vegetius provided a guide to restoring peace and order to a world now sadly lacking these virtues, and to creating a military which was loyal to the ruler: a profession of arms.[23] The ideal that knights should fight for the kingdom and the king's honour was proposed by Guillaume le Breton, celebrating the successes of Philip Augustus. These and other authors emphasised that creating a love of country amongst the warrior class would make men braver and more determined, less likely to flee.[24]

This sense of commitment was further amplified by Alfonso X 'The Wise' of Castile in his *Siete Partidas* (*c.* 1254–65).[25] This is essentially a Mirror for Princes, taking inspiration from a wide range of sources, but clearly drawing deeply from Vegetius. Book Six deals particularly with military affairs, the author asserting that no-one can avoid joining the army in order to fight for the common benefit of the country and that to fail to do so must be considered desertion. Alfonso required five key virtues of his knights: manliness, prudent behaviour, bravery, moderation and a sense of justice. They should demonstrate complete loyalty to the crown through seeking to protect society, honour their own lineage and avoid personal shame through noble actions. These requirements respond directly to the developing chivalric code, seeking to draw its adherents more closely into service of the state while at the same time promoting a sense of individual achievement to appeal to knightly self-regard. It is important that Alfonso's book was written in the vernacular, as that enabled many more to read or hear its lessons. It also led to his ideas being incorporated in the Catalan

[23] Allmand, *Vegetius*, pp. 85–6.

[24] *Ibid.*, pp. 92–5.

[25] *Ibid.*, pp. 96–104. *La Siete Partidas*, trans. S. P. Scott, ed. R. I. Burns, vol. 2 (Philadelphia, 2001). Prof. Simon Barton (Exeter and Florida) had just begun an important project on military leadership in the text, cut short by his tragically early death just before Christmas 2017.

Ramòn Llull's *Book of the Order of Chivalry* (1275), which became 'the classic account of knighthood', itself translated into many other languages.[26]

The issue of the accessibility of Vegetius' text is key to understanding its significance to a military audience. A later commentator remarked that 'War is made with the eye', meaning that learning by experience and in consort with those most expert is better than book-learning. This is the *coup d'oeil* of Clausewitz (and others) which comes from a deep practical understanding of the possibilities and limitations of military actions.[27] One cannot simply read about a warrior lifestyle; one has to live it. Nonetheless, the increasing popularity of translations into the European vernaculars demonstrates that chivalric practitioners were prepared to engage with learned texts. Chief among the earlier works of this kind was that of Jean de Meun (1284) who strove to provide a contemporary take on his ancient model. This included incorporating 'modern' examples, such as the battle of Bouvines and the crusade of Louis IX to Tunis, in order to push home his message of the relevance of his instruction.[28] The Norman Jean de Vigny's much less successful, plodding and awkward translation (1320) does at least make the point that it is necessary because Latin was not commonly understood by the knightly class.[29] His concern is with effective leadership, with military knowledge and understanding essential tools for developing it. This theme also appears in *Les Enseignements de Théodore Paléologue*, written around the same time. The author's name seems to promise contacts with Greek writings on warfare, but this eclectic work draws more on the Latin tradition, together with his own prejudices. He was actually an Italian aristocrat writing in French.[30] In truth, it is not very well done, but what is important is that it was done at all. As a product of an intellectual approach to warfare by a nobleman who was not himself especially learned it casts light on the wider appreciation of theoretical approaches to war amongst the military class.

What is perhaps more surprising is that the most sophisticated interpretation and analysis of warfare derived from Vegetius was produced not by a military man but by a woman: Christine de Pizan. Herself an exile at the Burgundian court, she wrote at a time of great tumult in France at a crux in the conflict with England, around 1410. Also, she wrote not as a mere copyist or translator, but as a true academic, incorporating ideas on Just War and political philosophy derived from John of Legnano and Honoré de Bouvet.[31] Like Alfonso X, she was deeply

[26] *La Siete Partidas.*, p. xvi.
[27] Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, ed. and trans. M. Howard and P. Paret (Princeton, 1989), p. 578.
[28] Allmand, *Vegetius*, p. 156.
[29] *Ibid.*, p. 260.
[30] *Les Enseignements de Théodore Paléologue*, ed. and trans. C. Knowles (London, 1983).
[31] Allmand, *Vegetius*, p. 124. Amongst her prolific output, Christine's most relevant and accessible text is: *The Book of Deeds of Arms and of Chivalry*, ed. and trans S. and C. C.

concerned with the relationship between the ruler and the military, especially in the light of the evident failings of the mentally unstable Charles VI of France (1380–1422). She also took great pains to identify the necessary qualities for a general with regard to his ability to run the whole war effort, including the management of campaigns and battlefield leadership.[32] She quotes Vegetius at length in certain places, whilst attempting to bring him up-to-date in consideration of contemporary warfare.[33] Not least, she proposes deployments for march and battle which closely resemble those actually employed, for example by the French commanders at Agincourt in 1415 and John the Fearless, duke of Burgundy, outside Paris two years later.[34] Her work represents a bringing together of ancient theory and modern practice in a sophisticated way, which had not been previously achieved by academic commentators on war. Its approach also matched a contemporary reality in that generalship was promoted as a craft to be learnt by individuals who served the crown rather by the ruler himself. This did not prevent later rulers from seeing themselves as great commanders, but it was part of a trend which recognised that a professional soldier was often the best choice to prosecute war on behalf of the state. This conclusion was made apparent in a work entitled *Le Jouvencel*, written by one such, Jean de Bueil, in 1466.[35] Although it is presented as an imagined chivalric biography, de Bueil draws upon the military manual tradition of Vegetius and Christine herself in analysing the best way to conduct warfare. Between them, these two authors provided accessible information for the chivalric knight who also wanted to consider himself educated in arms.

Although most of the texts considered so far have a continental provenance, there was also an English interest in the Vegetius tradition. King Edward I possessed an Anglo-Norman translation in the late thirteenth century.[36] There was no need for an English version since every educated man spoke French for

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Willard (Philadelphia, 1999). For a translation of Honoré de Bouvet, *Arbres des batailles* (*c.* 1389) see: *The Tree of Battles of Honoré Bonet* (sic), ed. G. W. Coopland (Cambridge, MA, 1949).

[32] Pisan, *Deeds of Arms*, part 1, ch. vii, pp. 23–6; ch. xii–xv, pp. 37–48; ch. xviii–xxii, pp. 53–67.

[33] *Ibid.*, ch. xxiv-xxix, pp. 67–79.

[34] *Ibid.*, ch. xxiii, pp. 65–7, 'How to draw up an army for combat according to present day usage'. For the implications of this attention to battle plans see M. Bennett, 'The Development of Tactics during the Hundred Years War', in *Arms, Armies and Fortifications in the Hundred Years War*, ed. A. Curry and M. Hughes (Woodbridge, 1994), pp. 1–20, esp. 16–19.

[35] Jean de Bueil, *Le Jouvencel*, ed. C. Favre and L. Lecestre, 2 vols (Paris, 1887; repr. Geneva, 1996). No full English translation exists at the time of writing. For translated extracts see M. C. Tsin, 'Medieval Romances and Military History: Marching Orders in Jean de Bueil's *Le Jouvencel introduit aux armes*', *Journal of Medieval Military History* VII (2009), ch. 7, pp. 127–34.

[36] Allmand, *Vegetius*, esp. pp. 186–7.

another century or more. There were a couple of unimpressive translations, the first in 1408 and a clumsy versification around 1460 following the loss of the lands in France in the mid fifteenth century. Richard III possessed a (possibly unread) copy in 1484, while his conqueror at Bosworth requested a translation of the Christine de Pizan version. Fortuitously this coincided with the introduction of printing, making William Caxton's edition, the *Book of the Order of Chivalry*, perhaps unintentionally famous.[37]

Orders of Chivalry

Although they were not strictly didactic in nature, the creation of chivalric societies fulfilled many of the roles of instructional material found in military manuals proper.[38] They also engaged with the performance and play aspects of chivalry in a more demonstrative way than had previously been seen. In every sense they were realisations of the myth of the Round Table of equals, yet at the same time followers of the royal hero, whether Arthur himself or Charlemagne or the actual ruler of a kingdom or principality. Edward I of England built loyalty and mutual regard amongst his nobility, represented by a physical round table (still to be seen in Winchester Great Hall). His grandson, Edward III, took the imagery still further through his creation of the Company of the Garter. Edward was the epitome of *débonnaire*, the brave, witty and charismatic leader in war – and in the dance. For it was on the dance-floor that the order's motto 'Honi soit qui mal y pense' was created as Edward gallantly recovered the slipped garter of his partner (and mistress) the countess of Salisbury. That an ironic comment could become a noble invocation says a great deal about the humorous aspects of homosocial bonding behaviour to be found in knightly society. Excavations at Windsor castle in 2006 discovered a large building which exemplifies the play-like posturing of the ruler and his court, as much a setting for a seventeenth-century-type masque as for the display of masculine military virtuosity. Although, of course, there was room for both.[39]

In contrast to this knowing fantasy, the contemporaneous Company of the Star, created by King Jean II in 1352, was determinedly serious in intent. It was inspired by Geoffroi de Charny, whose *Livre de Chevalerie* shared with Vegetius

[37] *Ibid*., pp. 61–2.

[38] See: D'Arcy J. D. Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown: The Monarchical Orders of Knighthood in Later Medieval Europe* (Woodbridge, 1987) for an impressive survey of the topic.

[39] See, most recently, R. Barber, *Edward III and the Triumph of England: The Battle of Crécy and the Company of the Garter* (London, 2013), pp. 164–5, 170–5, for the creation of the idea of the Round Table, and the Garter celebrations, pp. 281–3.

a desire to reform the French military in the face of defeats by the English.[40] His concern was to make his companions not only more skilled, but also braver. Charny was determined that they should not flee the fight. He first practised this at Morlaix in Brittany in 1342, whilst still a squire, when he led a headlong cavalry charge against a defended position; this resulted in the loss of fifty knights and the capture of 150 – himself included – by the gleeful English. Ransomed soon afterwards, he missed the disaster of Crécy by being on crusade against the Ottoman Turks (at Smyrna in Anatolia, the same campaign that Chaucer's knight fictitiously attended). Back in harness, he was captured again while trying to seize Calais by a *ruse de guerre* on New Year's Eve 1349. Ransomed again, he led the Company of the Star to defeat at Mauron in 1352; the Companions, having sworn an oath never to retreat, lost eighty of their number. Charny himself met a gruesome end at Poitiers in 1356 when, as the royal standard bearer, he was cut down for refusing to surrender in a defeat, which saw his chivalric brainchild exterminated.[41] These glorious failures resemble that stereotype of chivalry in which a knight is incapable of making rational – and life-saving – decisions owing to his arrogant desire not lose honour. Like most stereotypes there is some truth in this, but Charny's words – if not his deeds – were wise ones, counselling the development of expertise, moderation and humility in defence of kingdom and Christianity, a career of service to be compared to that of a priest.

The fifteenth century witnessed a blossoming of orders of chivalry across Europe – principally at the courts of Hungary (Order of the Dragon, 1408) and Burgundy (Order of the Golden Fleece, 1430) – all of which celebrated the wealth, if not necessarily the martial virtue, of individual rulers. Nor did they come to end with conventional dates for the middle ages: they were too valuable as celebrations of the powerful. Chivalry also penetrated areas of society which might have seemed excluded by noble exceptionalism: the bourgeois world of townsmen and merchants to be found in the Low Countries and elsewhere.[42] What had begun as an elite club was popularised and extended to suit the needs of urban elites whose urge for lavish display was no less than that of the aristocracy.

What is to be made of the ideas of reform and modernisation of the military in the sixteenth century and later? It is now accepted that Niccolò Machiavelli, who earlier had a reputation for startling originality, drew upon commonplaces about

[40] *The Book of Chivalry of Geoffroi de Charny: Text, Context and Translation*, ed. R. W. Kaeuper and E. Kennedy (Philadelphia, 1996). For a discussion of the impact of these defeats on French chivalry see Craig Taylor, *Chivalry and the Ideals of Knighthood in France during the Hundred Years War* (Cambridge, 2013).

[41] The preceding paragraph distils *ibid.*, pp. 5–18.

[42] Recent research has uncovered a great deal of imitative chivalric display amongst urban elites. See M. Damen, 'The Knighthood in and around Late Medieval Brussels', *Journal of Medieval History* 43(3) (2017), pp. 255–84.

the role of the soldier and the state in fifteenth-century Italy; he also owed a huge debt to Vegetius.[43] Yet, there is no doubt that the rediscovery of classical texts in both Greek and Latin, combined with technological developments, did create a different set of conditions for the conduct of warfare expressed in the circulation of military manuals. The arrival of printing, which enabled authors to reach a much wider audience than had ever been previously possible, produced a more uniform approach to managing troops on the battlefield especially. So it was that Aelian's second-century study of the management of a phalanx became relevant to the practitioners of the pike-and-shot warfare that emerged *c.* 1500 and flourished for another 150 years.[44] Similarly, cavalry tactics were reinterpreted along classical lines. In this way, the 'new' Spanish and Dutch systems marked a break with traditional methods. This did not happen swiftly, though, either in western Europe, or, more especially in areas such as Hungary and Poland; cavalry armies continued to play a large part in warfare, especially against the Ottomans, in a way that was recognisably chivalric in tone.

It is true that developments in the state led to the knightly class becoming officers under changing regimes; but this change had already been taking place before the apparent watershed of 1500. Nor did rulers and the aristocracy give up their chivalric play-acting; Henry VIII and Francis I were actually rather better at it than real warfare. England was unusual in that it had female rulers for over half a century at the moment of transition. Henry II of France managed to get himself killed at a tournament just as Geoffrey of Brittany had done four centuries earlier. Chivalry did not die, rather it segued into another form revivable for political and performance purposes almost to the modern day. Certainly, Queen Victoria and Prince Albert were happy to represent themselves as the epitome of Arthurian romance, while the appeal to individual honour has never lost its high status amongst the military. The last (successful) cavalry charge – there are several actions which can claim this title – took place well into the twentieth century.

But, of course, chivalry was always much more than a mounted assault upon an enemy, exciting though the tales of such exploits might be. It was part of a professional approach to a career in arms which was introspective and character-developing as much as a demonstration of physical prowess. The purpose of this chapter in exploring the many ways in which medieval warriors and their literary mentors went about making themselves better at the art of war has been to emphasise the intellectual aspects of these developments at a time when historians have not always appreciated how extensive these were.

[43] Allmand, *Vegetius*, provides a concise summary of Machiavelli's analysis of the need for reform, pp. 139–47.

[44] *The Tactics of Aelian*, ed. C. Matthew (Barnsley, 2013).

14

The End of Chivalry? Survivals and Revivals of the Tudor Age

MATTHEW WOODCOCK

> They do not know what knights and chivalry mean […] The knighthood of today! Why it consists of disorderly living! What has become of the military art, so well taught by Vegetius and so many others? It no longer exists: it is the art of giving oneself up to all sorts of excesses and of leading a sottish life. (Peter of Blois, later twelfth century)[1]

> O ye knyghtes of Englond, where is the custome and usage of noble chyvalry that was used in tho dayes? What do ye now but go to the baynes [baths] and playe att dyse? And some not wel advysed use no honest and good rule ageyn all ordre of knyghthode […] Allas! what doo ye but slepe and take ease and ar al disordred fro chyvalry? (William Caxton, *The Book of the Ordre of Chyvalry*, *c.* 1484)[2]

> The knighthood nowadays, are nothing like the knighthood of old time. They rid a-horseback; ours go afoot […] They went buckled in their armour; ours muffled in their cloaks […] They were still prest to engage their honour; ours still ready to pawn their clothes. (George Chapman, Ben Jonson, John Marston, *Eastward Ho*, 1605)[3]

This chapter should probably be entitled 'The many *ends* of chivalry'. For centuries, writers, churchmen, soldiers, historians and moral commentators complained that chivalry and the ideals of knighthood were in decline, had been degraded to an idle or effeminate state, or were otherwise a hollow imitation of an authentic, perfected manifestation extant in the (usually unspecified) past. Witness the broad date-range of the sources quoted above. The complaint that chivalry has irretrievably declined, or indeed died, has been associated with

[1] Quoted in R. Kilgour, *The Decline of Chivalry as Shown in the French Literature of the Late Middle Ages* (Gloucester, MA, 1966), pp. 4–5.
[2] *The Book of the Ordre of Chyvalry*, ed. A. T. P. Byles. (London, 1926), pp. 122–3.
[3] *Eastward Ho*, ed. R. W. Van Fossen (Manchester, 1979), pp. 180–1.

numerous events and actual deaths from medieval and modern history, including the destruction of French knighthood at Agincourt; Richard III's death at Bosworth; the passing of Sir Philip Sidney or Elizabeth I or Prince Henry Stuart; the execution of Marie Antoinette and the end of the *ancien régime*; and the mechanisation of warfare in the first half of the twentieth century.[4] Rejoinders and more nuanced considerations can be found for each claim, but the essential idea remains that chivalry's end can be temporally located. The present chapter adopts a different approach. Rather than attempting to pinpoint such a terminal moment and charting chivalry's decline and the causes thereof, my focus is upon the plurality of purported endings. This chapter discusses what it means to declaim the end of chivalry and then provides a critical re-examination of how chivalry is evolved, adapted and repurposed between the early Tudor era and the first decades of Stuart rule. Such a historical focus is necessary here for reasons of space, but this is also the period most commonly identified by historians as constituting a decadent, terminal or at least transitional phase of chivalry.

So what is meant when we speak of chivalry's decline or end? As is already discussed extensively elsewhere, chivalry as it is encountered in books and plays as a literary theme and series of motifs remained incredibly popular throughout the sixteenth century.[5] That early modern authors, playwrights, readers and audiences knew and continued to adapt chivalric romances is no longer contested, and literary manifestations of chivalry in this period are not a principal concern in this chapter. Of greater relevance here is chivalry as it manifests as a lived reality, be it as a code of values with which one identifies or constructs oneself, as a way of characterising political relationships between individuals and the state or sovereign, and as a means of conceiving military roles or practices. The word 'chivalry' was used throughout the medieval and early modern periods as a synonym for martial achievement and the art of war more broadly.[6] But it is the implicit sense that the knightly class should represent and sustain an *ideal* manifestation of such things that underlies the kinds of complaints about the decline of chivalry set out above. Peter of Blois criticised contemporary knights for degenerating into luxury and excess, and for their preoccupation with material trappings of chivalry rather than with active displays of martial vigour: 'They

[4] Several such historical moments are discussed below, but see also Kilgour, *Decline*, pp. 52–3, D. Hipshon, *Richard III and the Decline of Chivalry* (Stroud, 2011); Edmund Burke, *Revolutionary Writings*, ed. I. Hampsher-Monk (Cambridge, 2014), pp. 77–8.

[5] See P. Russell, 'Romantic Narrative Plays: 1570–1590', in *Elizabethan Theatre*, ed. J. R. Brown and B. Harris (London, 1966), pp. 107–29; A. King, *The Faerie Queene and Middle English Romance: The Matter of Just Memory* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 29–41; A. Davis, *Chivalry and Romance in the English Renaissance* (Cambridge, 2003); H. Cooper, *The English Romance in Time: Transforming Motifs from Geoffrey of Monmouth to the Death of Shakespeare* (Oxford, 2004) and *Shakespeare and the Medieval World* (London, 2010).

[6] *OED*, s.v. 'chivalry'.

carry splendid plated shields which they greatly hope to bring back unused. On their armour and on their saddles are pictured scenes of battle; these are sufficient for them: they have no desire to see more.'[7] For Peter, knighthood and chivalry had lost sight of an identifiable model of military discipline epitomised by Roman soldiery as described by the late Roman court official Vegetius, author of an immensely influential treatise on army reform, *De re militari* (composed *c.* 380–450AD). Vegetius was widely used and adapted until at least the seventeenth century.[8] He was a key source, for example, for Christine de Pizan's 1410 *Livre des faits d'armes et de chevalerie* (translated and published by Caxton in 1489), and one of several texts medieval authors used to argue for chivalry's Roman origins.[9] Caxton's complaints about the absence of 'noble chyvalry' contrasted contemporary English knighthood with the ideal practices of 'auncyent tyme'. His noble readership were directed in particular towards King Arthur and his knights for instruction and emulation, together with later historical – and, to modern eyes, more credible – sources such as Jean Froissart. For both complainants, chivalry had declined from an earlier ideal; the outward, material manifestations of knighthood remained but there was a perceptible failure to live up to models offered by Vegetius's military art or Arthurian chivalry. Caxton's complaint seems the more fanciful and idealistic of the two, given the standard against which his contemporaries are measured. But Peter too looks back to a model that itself constituted an idealistic projection, not of what the fourth-century Roman army actually was, but of what it should be like were it to be reformed according to precedents of the 'ancient legion' described in Vegetius's earlier classical sources.[10]

The point to take from both quotations, and the evocation of unspecified 'old time' in the lines from *Eastward Ho*, is that chivalry never seems as good as it used to be. There is something inherently retrospective and nostalgic about the chivalric ethos itself derived from its reliance upon models of former practice and because of its innately idealistic nature. Chivalry's idealistic nature is central to Johan Huizinga's influential account (first published in 1919) of both its persistence and eventual decline during the late medieval period.

[7] Kilgour, *Decline*, p. 5.

[8] P. Contamine, *War in the Middle Ages*, trans. M. Jones (Oxford, 1984), pp. 210–12; C. Allmand, *The De Re Militari of Vegetius: The Reception, Transmission And Legacy Of A Roman Text In The Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2011).

[9] C. C. Willard, 'Pilfering Vegetius? Christine de Pizan's *Faits d'Armes et de Chevalrie*', in *Women, the Book and the Wordly*, ed. L. Smith and J. H. M. Taylor (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 31–7. On chivalry's purported Roman origins: M. Keen, *Chivalry* (London, 1984), pp. 107–13.

[10] Vegetius, *Epitome of Military Science*, trans. N. P. Milner (Liverpool, 1993), pp. xvi–xviii.

> History pays too little attention to the influence of these dreams of a sublime life on civilization itself and on the forms of social life. The content of the ideal is a desire to return to the perfection of an imaginary past. All aspiration to raise life to that level, be it in poetry only or in fact, is an imitation. The essence of chivalry is the imitation of the ideal hero, just as the imitation of the ancient sage is the essence of humanism.[11]

The attractions of chivalry in the later middle ages, argued Huizinga, resided in its ability to provide a numinous way of seeing and interpreting the world akin to

> a sort of magic key, by the aid of which they [i.e. those who wrote and/or read of chivalry in chronicles or romances] explained to themselves the motives of politics and of history […] which thus was reduced to a spectacle of the honour of princes and virtue of knights, to a noble game with edifying and heroic rules.[12]

For Huizinga, the difficulties with sustaining this ideal arose during the fifteenth century, and he focuses predominantly on the growing extravagance of Burgundian chivalric practices of the 1450s–60s. It was at this point that the gap between illusion or 'spectacle' and reality could no longer be concealed. As Maurice Keen (paraphrasing Huizinga) formulates it, the aristocracy and knightly class had 'transmuted an ethical ideal into a merely aesthetic one, and the point has come where hard reality begins to open the eyes of the nobility to the uselessness of what has been created'.[13] Late medieval military memoirs by the likes of Jean de Bueil and Philippe de Commines exposed the realities of warfare and its distance from the highly spectacular displays seen in aristocratic and courtly tournaments, where chivalry appeared as an imitative theme and the practice of arms no longer afforded adequate preparation for war.[14] There was a waning too of the ascetic ideals that characterised knighthood of an earlier era. 'Medieval chivalry, in its first bloom', Huizinga maintained, 'was bound to blend with monachism', and he looked back to the first crusades and the founding of the Templar military orders for an ideal pattern of true knight errantry.[15] Huizinga's argument that chivalry declined to the point of decadence and obsolescence during the fifteenth century, and that its practices, rites and values were hollow spectacle when compared to former exemplars or contemporary battlefield realities, continued to inform twentieth-century studies of late medieval and

[11] J. Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages*, trans. F. Hopman (Harmondsworth, 1955), p. 37.
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 66.
[13] M. Keen, 'Huizinga, Kilgour, and the Decline of Chivalry', *Medievalia et Humanistica* 8 (1977), p. 4.
[14] Huizinga, *Waning*, pp. 65, 72–3; Kilgour, *Decline*, pp. 315–32.
[15] Huizinga, *Waning*, p. 75.

early modern chivalry, including those of Raymond Kilgour, Sydney Anglo and Arthur B. Ferguson.[16]

This argument may be challenged on several points. Was there ever really a golden age of chivalry when knighthood embodied all the ideal qualities fundamental to Huizinga's conception of its ontology? Malcolm Vale suggests Huizinga was overly reliant upon prescriptive medieval texts, such as those of Christine de Pizan or Honoré Bonet, who – like Vegetius – offered models of what knighthood should be, born of an awareness of the distance between contemporary reality and projected ideal.[17] Moreover, exactly when was that moment against which later iterations of chivalry are compared? There is relatively little evidence of what chivalry looked like in its 'first bloom', before its suggested decline into decadence. Two or three centuries earlier, twelfth-century sources such as William of Tyre, Orderic Vitalis and (as seen above) Peter of Blois made the same *ubi sunt* complaints about a gap between a perceived ideal and the reality of knightly practice.[18] Much of the comedy/tragedy of Cervantes's *Don Quixote* (1605, 1615) derives, of course, from the hero's attempts to recover an intangible chivalric ideal taken from equally idealistic book-based sources.

Rather than conceiving the end of chivalry in diachronic terms, as a decline from perfected ideal into decadence or obsolescence, we might instead adopt a more nuanced approach, recognising that the concept of chivalry itself is always a site of synchronic contestation containing within itself both the promise of an ideal and the need to actively attain or preserve that ideal. Questioning what chivalry is, testing its efficacy and currency, measuring its practices and practitioners against imagined standards of the past, and lamenting the failure to match those ideals, are recurrent – and, it might be proposed, defining – characteristics of any representation or manifestation of chivalry. To borrow Frank Kermode's terms, the end of chivalry is always immanent rather than imminent.[19] This is reflected, for example, in medieval chivalric romance and its favoured recourse to structural motifs of questing and testing that present the struggle – best seen in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* – to attain an ideal even where its underlying principles appear flawed or contradictory. Is it possible to serve one's king *and* one's beloved lady, or reconcile individual knight-errantry with serving one's sovereign? (The latter question remained a recurrent concern for early modern chivalry.) Plaintive observations concerning contrasts between knighthood's degeneracy and its 'antique vigour', writes Keen, were repeated so

[16] Kilgour, *Decline*; A. B. Ferguson, *The Indian Summer of English Chivalry* (Durham, NC, 1960) and *The Chivalric Tradition in Renaissance England* (Washington DC, 1986); *Chivalry in the Renaissance*, ed. S. Anglo (Woodbridge, 1990), pp. xi–xv.

[17] M. Vale, *War and Chivalry* (London, 1981), pp. 11–12.

[18] Keen, 'Huizinga', pp. 5–6.

[19] F. Kermode, *The Sense of an Ending* (Oxford, 2000), p. 101.

often as to suggest that it became a *topos*.[20] Chivalry continually warred against its own 'distorted image', although such struggles need not always be destructive or counter-productive. As Vale and Keen demonstrate, chivalry was to remain of vital social and political significance until at least 1500, and the imitative propensities of late medieval court culture did not of themselves bring about or signal chivalry's obsolescence for the knightly class. Their studies counter, for example, claims that by the fifteenth century the tournament had little bearing on battlefield deeds of arms.[21] Criticism, interrogation or even parody of chivalry need not automatically be understood as calls for abandonment of the concept itself, but as appeals for a reformation, renewal or revision of its underlying values.

Turning attention to the period beyond 1500, we might more naturally expect to find conditions better evincing chivalry's obsolescence or accentuating those in-built sources of tension exposing the gap between a timeless ideal and contemporary reality. Arthur B. Ferguson's 1960 and 1986 accounts of what happens to chivalry between the later fifteenth and early seventeenth centuries offer a multi-faceted variant on the diachronic temporal decline thesis. As he proposes, thanks to several distinct phases of revival during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries achieved through incorporation of chivalric practices into court entertainments and modes of political interaction, and the martial fervour engendered by open hostilities between England and Spain, chivalry enjoyed something of an 'Indian summer' during the Tudor period. The very idea of 'revival' suggests expiration or obsolescence, and that chivalry's new form is essentially retrospective and imitative. Ferguson partly endorses such a view in writing that 'when the Elizabethan aristocracy sought in the chivalric code an ethical form of life in a new and swashbuckling society, theirs was a really nostalgic, truly romantic, at times even a frivolous attempt to recreate the spirit of an irretrievable past'.[22] As even his own scholarship begins to demonstrate, however, it is more accurate to think in terms of how chivalry evolves, adapts and thus in some sense survives into the early modern period. Rather than looking back to chivalry's ideal imagined form, it is productive to examine how chivalry not so much declines post-1500 but alters its appearance. As Keen concludes, 'the forces that in the medieval past had given it life and impetus were still at work, but the outward aspects in which they found expression were changing, and the old name was losing its appositeness'.[23] More recent studies of early modern chivalry, resisting suggestions of a decline or ending, refine this view and treat chivalry less as a

[20] Keen, *Chivalry*, p. 234.
[21] Vale, *War*, pp. 63–87; Keen, *Chivalry*, pp. 206–8.
[22] Ferguson, *Indian*, p. 226.
[23] Keen, *Chivalry*, p. 239.

stable set of practices and more as 'a culturally fluid and adaptable language'.[24] Continuing to build on such approaches, this chapter's next sections examine three spheres in which we can identify how chivalry evolves and takes on new forms during the period under consideration: within the symbolic language of Tudor politics and myth-making; in sixteenth-century debates about honour, nobility and public service; and in early modern theories and constructions of military identity.

The association of chivalric practices with traditions of the past dating back to martial glories of Arthurian Britain – or a richly imagined recreation thereof – constituted a valuable resource for the Tudor dynasty, not least, it has been suggested, to 'validate and legitimate an authority that must have seemed dangerously *arriviste*'.[25] Much has been written on the political and nationalistic utility of Arthurian mythology and its attendant chivalric practices and rituals, and of the value to the Tudors of the opportunities they provided for celebrating the magnificence and authority of the crown.[26] Early Tudor court culture made extensive use of chivalric forms derived from those of mid- to late-fifteenth-century Burgundy, as was exemplified by the civic pageant, disguisings and tournament staged in 1501 to celebrate the wedding of Katherine of Aragon and Prince Arthur Tudor.[27] In the late 1490s Henry VII claimed that tournaments still offered the opportunity to 'learn the exercise of arms' and prepare for military expeditions in France.[28] But in 1501 the new Burgundian style of tournament placed the onus on magnificence and display, rather than just on martial exercise: its participants entered in ceremonial pageant-cars, hung their shields from a Tree of Chivalry, and appeared in various symbolic disguises.[29] Henry VIII made similar recourse to stylised chivalric displays throughout much of his reign (as chronicler Edward Hall later celebrated), and regularly appeared in the

[24] M. Nievergelt, 'The Chivalric Imagination in Elizabethan England', *Literature Compass* 8.5 (2011), p. 275. See also K. Stevenson, 'Chivalry, British Sovereignty and Dynastic Politics: Undercurrents of Antagonism in Tudor–Stewart Relations, *c.* 1490–1513', *Historical Research* 86 (2013), pp. 601–18.

[25] S. Orgel, *The Authentic Shakespeare, and Other Problems of the Early Modern Stage* (London, 2003), p. 77.

[26] F. J. Levy, *Tudor Historical Thought* (San Marino, 1967), pp. 64–7, 130–3; C. Dean, *Arthur of England: English Attitudes to King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table in the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Toronto, 1987); S. Anglo, *Images of Tudor Kingship* (London, 1992), pp. 40–60; D. Starkey, 'King Henry and King Arthur', in *Arthurian Literature XVI*, ed. J. Carley and F. Riddy (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 171–96.

[27] G. Kipling, *The Triumph of Honour: Burgundian Origins of the Elizabethan Renaissance* (Hague, 1977), pp. 73–95.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 118.

[29] A. Young, *Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments* (London, 1987), p. 22; S. Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry and Early Tudor Policy* (Oxford, 1997), pp. 98–108.

lists.[30] In 1520 at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, Henry and the French king Francis I met outside Calais and momentarily transformed the world of European diplomatic relations into a superlative display of chivalric brotherhood replete with martial contests in which the two monarchs themselves took part.[31]

Whilst the tradition of celebratory courtly tilts staged at Whitehall continued throughout the mid sixteenth century, it was during Elizabeth's reign that England witnessed its most sustained, most widely articulated incorporation of chivalric forms into public and political life. Chivalry formed a vital element of what has latterly been termed the 'cult' of Elizabeth, by which the queen was celebrated and communicated with through a series of figurations and fictions based on classical, biblical and mythological sources.[32] Elizabeth's sex meant that she might not readily assume the sort of martial identity exhibited by her father, but she nevertheless engaged within an elaborate ongoing fiction that cast her in a comparable role to the sovereign lady of chivalric romance, in whose service her courtiers toiled. Elizabethan courtship entailed not simply 'being at court' but, as in the more amorous sense of the word, engaging in a complex form of wooing of the monarch for which the symbolic language of chivalry and its recurrent motifs of loyal service to one's lady provided a powerful yet pliable resource. Elizabeth herself acknowledged her role in such a chivalric fiction, as Francis Bacon observed astutely: 'she allowed herself to be wooed and courted, and even to have love made to her; and liked it; and continued it beyond the natural age for such vanities [...] they are much like the accounts we find in romances, of the Queen in the blessed islands, and her court and institutions, who allows of amorous admiration but prohibits desire'.[33] Such a view echoes Huizinga's statement above about how chivalry provided an idealised 'key' for viewing and explaining politics.

Some of the best-known, most spectacular manifestations of the ongoing chivalric fiction with which Elizabeth engaged with courtiers and subjects were the entertainments staged on the summer progresses undertaken by the queen and court, and at the Accession Day tilts held annually at Whitehall on 17 November. First staged during the 1570s under the aegis of queen's champion Sir Henry Lee, possibly as part of celebrations following suppression of the Northern Rebellion, the Accession Day tilts remained a central fixture of courtly ritual

[30] Young, *Tudor*, p. 27; Anglo, *Spectacle*, pp. 108–23; S. Gunn, 'Chivalry and the Politics of the Early Tudor Court', in *Chivalry in the Renaissance*, ed. Anglo, pp. 107–28.

[31] Anglo, *Spectacle*, pp. 137–69.

[32] E. C. Wilson, *England's Eliza* (Cambridge, MA, 1939); Roy Strong, *The Cult of Elizabeth* (London, 1977), Jean Wilson, *Entertainments for Elizabeth I* (Woodbridge, 1980), pp. 5–52.

[33] Quoted in Davis, *Chivalry*, p. 73.

throughout Elizabeth's reign and that of her successor King James I, finally ceasing in 1622.[34] The tilts drew extensively on themes and commonplaces of medieval romance, and were evoked in turn in contemporary romances by Edmund Spenser and Sir Philip Sidney. Earlier critics like Frances Yates and Roy Strong saw the tilts as products of a homogenous mythographic enterprise, pro-Tudor propaganda in which political messages were always controlled by the queen. More modern scholarship argues, however, that practices and fictions used to celebrate Elizabeth could become sites of potential contestation between different factions and individuals.[35] The tilts provided Elizabeth's courtiers with an opportunity to use the symbolic language of chivalry as much to advertise their own status and political importance as to signal service to the queen. They were a means by which Elizabeth negotiated the tension, historically ever-present within chivalric discourse, between centripetal loyalty to the crown and the more autonomous, individualistic ambitions of powerful subjects.[36] A similar form of 'chivalric compromise' was enacted through the Elizabethan revival of the Order of the Garter, a recreation of a knightly confraternity dating back to Edward III's reign that ritualised and secured loyalty to the crown but also attempted again to channel the martial aspirations of the fractious contemporary aristocracy.[37] Chivalric forms were not the exclusive preserve of queen and court in this period. The 'Auncient Order, Societie and Unitie Laudable of Prince Arthure', for example, was an archery fraternity of London citizenry who each took the identity of an Arthurian knight and bore appropriate heraldic devices derived from chivalric romances.[38]

Participants in Tudor tournaments increasingly fought with armour and weapons designed exclusively for the tiltyard, including blunted swords and rebated lances. Score-cheques came to record the number of courses run and lances shattered rather than rewarding more dangerous former practices such as blows striking the head or unseating the rider.[39] Such modifications, and the consciously theatrical aspects of Tudor chivalric tilts and entertainments, may seem to invite the sort of dismissive judgements of Ferguson and others regarding the 'frivolous' nature of early modern chivalry, with the Elizabethan tournaments 'an

[34] F. Yates, *Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1975), pp. 88–111; Strong, *Cult*, pp. 117–62; Young, *Tudor*, pp. 37–42.

[35] S. Frye, *Elizabeth I: The Competition for Representation* (New York, 1993), pp. 3–19; L. A. Montrose, *The Subject of Elizabeth: Authority, Gender and Representation* (Chicago, 2006), pp. 104–13.

[36] R. C. McCoy, *The Rites of Knighthood: The Literature and Politics of Elizabethan Chivalry* (Berkeley, 1989), pp. 21–6.

[37] Strong, *Cult*, pp. 164–85; McCoy, *Rites*, pp. 18–19.

[38] C. B. Millican, *Spenser and the Table Round* (Cambridge, MA, 1932), pp. 54–64.

[39] Young, *Tudor*, pp. 46–8.

archaic game no more related to real life than a college fencing meet'.[40] Such a view underestimates the power of chivalry as a symbolic political language and overlooks, for example, the vital phatic function of agonistic displays like the Accession Day tilts. It also misapprehends the political efficacy of nostalgia and the use of practices and trappings the potency of which as objects of display or discourse may have become much greater than their practical utility. Nostalgia could be of great instrumental potency in this period, as has been explored in recent critical discussions of the declining role of armour and archery on the sixteenth-century battlefield.[41] Equally, one does not need to believe in the reality of Arthur and his knights in order to recognise the political expedience of emulating extravagant accounts of their world and deeds. Chivalry as it manifests as a symbolic language or discourse object, as the expression of what has usefully been termed 'militant nostalgia', need not really be considered to have ended during the sixteenth century, but to have evolved and assumed renewed potency and significance.[42] Moreover, as Marco Nievergelt demonstrates, chivalry provided a 'conceptual vocabulary' extending beyond the tiltyard or battlefield that was used as a paradigm for English maritime and colonial adventuring.[43] The Tudor herald Sir William Segar saw analogues to the more wonderful deeds of Arthur's knights in recent voyages made by Sir Francis Drake, Sir Martin Frobisher and others.[44] Elizabethan advocates of such enterprises appealed to chivalric precedents, and to the queen's supposed descent from Arthur, to support claims of imperial dominion in territory overseas on the basis that it was once conquered by her fabled ancestor.[45] As shown in the poetry of Spenser and John Derricke, for example, the language of chivalric adventure could ameliorate the more visceral realities of establishing English rule in sixteenth-century Ireland.[46]

[40] Ferguson, *Indian*, p. 226, and *Chivalric*, p. 81.

[41] S. Harlan, *Memories of War in Early Modern England: Armor and Militant Nostalgia in Marlowe, Sidney, and Shakespeare* (New York, 2016); M. Woodcock, 'Shooting for England: Configuring the Book and the Bow in Roger Ascham's *Toxophilus*', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 44.4 (2010), pp. 1017–38.

[42] Harlan, *Memories*, p. 1, defines 'militant nostalgia' as the 'cultural fascination with materials and technologies of warfare that were passing away by the sixteenth century'.

[43] Nievergelt, 'Chivalric', pp. 272–3. See also J. Goodman, *Chivalry and Exploration* (Woodbridge, 1998).

[44] W. Segar, *Honor, Military and Civil* (London, 1602), sigs E5v–E6v.

[45] A. Hadfield, *Edmund Spenser's Irish Experience* (Oxford, 1997), pp. 88–96.

[46] Critics have particularly focused on how book five of *The Faerie Queene* translates Spenser's colonial experience in Ireland into a chivalric romance structure: Hadfield, *Edmund*, ch. 4; D. Norbrook, *Poetry and Politics in the English Renaissance* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 123–35; R. McCabe, *Spenser's Monstrous Regiment: Elizabethan Ireland and the Poetics of Difference* (Oxford, 2002), esp. pp. 83–100. See also John Derricke, *The Image of Irelande* (London, 1581), sigs G1r–G4r.

The second area for consideration in examining how chivalry evolves and adapts beyond the medieval period is the long-running discourse about the nature and function of honour and nobility in the early modern state. Pronouncements regarding the close association of honour with virtue were already a common feature of medieval heraldic literature, as were debates – building upon classical antecedents – about the 'true' source of nobility. On one hand is the view that nobility resides in the essential properties of blood and lineage; on the other is the idea that true nobility derives from virtuous behaviour.[47] The idea that *vera nobilitas* owed more to active virtue than the passive inheritance of lineage was expounded repeatedly in medieval treatises on knighthood and chivalry and taken up with equal regularity by sixteenth- and seventeenth-century authors of heraldry manuals.[48] The consequent idea that honour was best earned through virtuous action found its most obvious and instinctive expression in this kind of treatise in martial terms and advocacy of prowess displayed through deeds of arms. The chivalric tradition was inexorably bound up with the attainment and propagation of honour, together with what Mervyn James identifies as an innate stress on 'competitive assertiveness' and continued need to find potential opportunities for acquiring honour.[49] There was thus something inherently individualistic about the generation of personal pre-eminence through virtuous action undertaken in the pursuit of honour.

During the early sixteenth century a combination of different intellectual trends and political and economic factors came to challenge the concept of chivalry and its relationship to the attainment of honour. Even while chivalry enjoyed its Indian summer during the reigns of the first two Tudor kings, the notion that martial prowess constituted the most significant means by which the aristocracy might gain honour was attacked by proponents of humanist learning rooted in both Christian irenic teachings and classical writings upon statecraft and virtue.[50] Desiderius Erasmus and Sir Thomas More condemned the rhetorical ends to which chivalry was put and the underlying aristocratic ideology that used chivalry as 'a cultural system devised to promote war and to disguise its true consequences under a veneer of glory'.[51] In his essays *Dulce bellum inex-*

[47] Vale, *War*, pp. 14–32; Keen, *Chivalry*, pp. 143–62.

[48] Davis, *Chivalry*, pp. 46–50. As Davis also observes, medieval and early modern sources on honour often averred that honour in its perfected form came of blood *combined* with behaviour (49). Contriving noble lineage remained an active practice – and cause for complaint – throughout the early modern period: M. McKisack, *Medieval History in the Tudor Age* (Oxford, 1971), pp. 66–7; McCoy, *Rites*, pp. 36–7, 55.

[49] M. James, *Society, Politics and Culture: Studies in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 1986), p. 309.

[50] Ferguson, *Indian*, pp. 169–72.

[51] D. Baker-Smith, '"Inglorious glory": 1513 and the Humanist Attack on Chivalry', in *Chivalry in the Renaissance*, ed. Anglo, p. 131.

pertis (1515) and *Querela Pacis* (1517), and with Henry VIII's 1512–13 expeditions to France foremost in his mind, Erasmus criticised the chivalric tradition for its romantic glamorisation of tyranny and bellicose statesmanship. More satirised chivalry through praising the patently inglorious, underhand warfare of Utopia's inhabitants, and their general scorn for ceremony and ostentation.[52] In a similar vein, the pedagogues Roger Ascham and Juan Luis Vives derided chivalric romance for its idle excesses and glamorisation of the profession of arms.[53] The humanist attacks were, in a way, variations on criticisms found centuries earlier regarding the disparity between imagined ideal and battlefield reality, but they were particularly attuned to the obfuscatory political ends to which chivalry was put, and to how the chivalric ethos remained part of international affairs. Witness the rationale by which Henry himself defended his personal participation in the 1513 campaign (as quoted by Polydore Vergil): 'it behoved him to enter upon his first military experience in so fine opinion about his valour among all men that they would indeed clearly understand that his ambition was not merely to equal but indeed to exceed the glorious deeds of his ancestors'.[54] War was the continuation of knight-errantry by other means.

Henry's cultivation of the vigorous image of his leading an army to war was symptomatic of a broader, longer-term process that took place throughout the sixteenth century. As Lawrence Stone charted, the Tudors came to assert a royal monopoly over public and private violence in England, effectively demilitarising the over-mighty nobility and redirecting the centrifugal energies of chivalric errantry towards loyalty and service to the monarch.[55] It is easy to oversimplify the detrimental effect this kind of social and economic change had upon chivalry and those who would practise it. Medieval treatises on chivalry, including Bonet's *Arbre des Batailles* (*c.* 1382–87), had already asserted that a knight's principal fealty was to his sovereign, and that this was the most appropriate way to gain honour.[56] Early- to mid-century humanists found their true vocation in the Ciceronian ideal of citizenship devoted to the commonwealth that valorised the honour of enacting public service as much through a civil capacity (as

[52] Thomas More, *Utopia*, trans. R. M. Adams (New York, 1992), pp. 53, 66–72.

[53] R. P. Adams, '"Bold Bawdry and Open Manslaughter": The English New Humanist Attack on Medieval Romance', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 23 (1959–60), pp. 42–7; Cooper, *English Romance*, pp. 36–9.

[54] Quoted in Baker-Smith, '"Inglorious"', p. 137.

[55] L. Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558–1641* (Oxford, 1965), pp. 199–270. R. B. Manning, *Swordsmen: The Martial Ethos in the Three Kingdoms* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 17–20, challenged Stone's conclusions regarding the apparently terminal demilitarisation of the English aristocracy and identified what amounted to a significant 'rechivalrization' of the peerage during the 1630s–40s.

[56] Keen, *Chivalry*, pp. 235–6.

counsellors and administrators, or in political duties) as through a military one.[57] A significant reformulation of the means through which the knightly class could serve king and commonwealth was, however, advanced in Sir Thomas Elyot's *Boke named the Governour* (1531), a text that assumes a pivotal role in Ferguson's and James's accounts of sixteenth-century chivalry and honour culture. As James writes, in steering a course from 'the older primacy of "prouesse" in the culture of honour to a style of chivalry which also implied learning [Elyot] outlined the formation of a learned knighthood', a course that would eventually effect the replacement of the knight with the gentleman or 'governor' as an aristocratic model.[58] Elyot offered a corrective to the self-absorbed performativity and preoccupations with martial pride seen in contemporary Italian courtesy literature exemplified by Baldassare Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier* (1528).[59]

The more restless, martial aspects of aristocratic honour were by no means neutralised by the mid-century synthesis of chivalric idealism and civic humanism. Writing during the 1630s, Sir Robert Naunton divided Elizabeth's nobility into the *militia* and *togati*: effectively, the 'swordsmen', who still looked to military action as a source of virtue, and their antithesis the 'gownsmen' or 'pen-gentlemen'.[60] Tensions remained too between the sense of aggressive independence and authority of the *militia* and the need for obedient, though conceivably docile, subservience to state interests; hence the need for the kinds of courtly chivalric displays discussed above to manage such energies, albeit temporarily.[61] By the 1570s the calls made by the militant Protestant faction at court headed by the earl of Leicester for concerted intervention in continental wars, especially in the Spanish-held Low Countries, were echoed in published works by literate fighting men. Soldier-author Thomas Churchyard looked back to Henry VIII's reign as the golden age of Tudor warfare, a time offering the greatest opportunities for asserting one's identity and manhood through the 'dissipline' of war:

> All Chevalrie was cherished, Soldiours made of, and manhoode, so much esteemed, that he was thought happie and moste valiaunt, that sought credite by the exercises of Armes, and dissipline of warre. Which did so animate the noble

[57] Ferguson, *Chivalric*, p. 57.

[58] James, *Society*, p. 378

[59] The obsessive emphasis placed in such texts on defence of personal honour and the indelible stain of perceived injuries to one's name has been seen as a major influence on early modern duelling culture, which in turn was recast in chivalric terms in Sir William Segar's *Booke of Honor and Armes* (1590); see M. Peltonen, *The Duel in Early Modern England: Civility, Politeness, and Honour* (Cambridge, 2003).

[60] Manning, *Swordsmen*, pp. 28–9.

[61] McCoy, *Rites*, pp. 12–14.

> mindes of men, that in a maner he was counted no bodie, that had not been knowen to bee at some valiaunte enterprice.[62]

Like generations of writers before him who had complained of inadequacies in their contemporary practitioners of arms, Churchyard revisits that militant nostalgia *topos* discussed above in order to criticise the low esteem in which martial action itself was now held.[63] According to Churchyard's fellow soldier-author Barnaby Rich, the idealised figure of the knight had degenerated, it was suggested, not into the civic-oriented, though nevertheless beneficial servant of the commonwealth, but into effeminate idleness:

> Gentlemen that are descended of honourable families, in these dayes, give themselves rather to become Battalus knightes [glossed as 'effeminate men'], then Martiall wightes, and have greater desire to be practised in Carpet trade, then in that kinde of vertue, which extendeth itself to the common profite, and preservation of the countrie.[64]

Even after England went to war with Spain in 1585 such complaints continued and they would multiply during James I's early reign, not least due to the king's irenic policies and indiscriminate distribution of knighthoods, often for money.[65] This is the context of my opening quote from *Eastward Ho* and for Francis Beaumont's satirical *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* (1607). In both plays the ridicule of knightly pretensions appears to reflect a loss of faith in contemporary knighthood but not necessarily in chivalry *per se* or in the value of virtuous martial action.[66]

If anything, complaints such as those from the Elizabethan soldier-authors could themselves be interpreted as another significant indication of how chivalry and its underlying principles evolved during the early modern period. The Elizabethan martialists are heirs of Elyot's ideas about honour gained through virtuous service performed in both arms and letters. Juxtaposition of the two spheres became an established discursive trope in sixteenth-century scholarship across Europe; arguments frequently contrived opposition only to conclude with reconciliation, restating that both concepts were necessary for society's well-being.[67] Integration of chivalry with humanist, civic-oriented learning need not be seen as innately destructive miscegenation of an ideal. Indeed, the hybrid figure of the 'scholar-knight' (Ferguson's term) or soldier-author exemplifies

[62] Thomas Churchyard, *A Generall Rehearsall of Warres* (London, 1579), sig. A1r.
[63] *Ibid.*, sig. M2r.
[64] Barnaby Rich, *Allarme to England* (London, 1578), sig. G4v.
[65] Stone, *Crisis*, pp. 41–3.
[66] Davis, *Chivalry*, p. 127.
[67] J. Supple, *Arms versus Letters: The Military and Literary Ideals in the 'Essais' of Montaigne* (Oxford, 1984), pp. 72–7.

how chivalry adapts to new intellectual, political and social conditions, and how it may be enriched through forces or ideas that initially appear to challenge its very essence.[68] Some of the greatest late Elizabethan formulations of this hybridity are in Segar's treatises, *The Booke of Honor and Armes* (1590) and *Honor, Military and Civill* (1602), which argue for the utility not only of arms combined with learning, but of the value of the latter in drawing upon experience and traditions of the past for contemporary and future practice.[69] Segar's later work offers an instructive summa of what chivalry looks like – or should look like – in the era of the classically educated gentleman.

That its practices and trappings were not fit for purpose when applied to the battlefield is a complaint perennially encountered throughout the history of chivalry. Such an observation might indeed appear to be borne out when it came to sixteenth-century warfare, although this certainly did not mean that chivalry automatically expired during this period. Knightly warfare involving the large-scale use of mounted men had been threatened since at least the fourteenth century by new infantry tactics using the bow and pike, yet cavalry was still widely retained in armies throughout the fifteenth century and into the sixteenth.[70] Improvements in artillery and portable gunpowder weapons, together with a transformation in the scale, cost and purpose of war, was changing the nature of combat and precipitated an evolution in the nature of noble military identity.[71] Don Quixote lamented for the 'happy ages' before the invention of gunpowder weapons 'which is the cause that very often a cowardly base hand takes away the life of the bravest gentleman'.[72] While artillery weapons were, for a time, incorporated into early modern chivalric ritual, the emblematic figure of the armoured mounted fighting man was to have a limited role in an era where long-term siege warfare was replacing full-scale pitched battles. Stalemates between the besieger and besieged of fortified cities or castles were often resolved more effectively by bombardment or starvation. Warfare was becoming ever more impersonal, affording fewer opportunities for displays of individual martial prowess. In larger armies involving more costly weaponry there were fewer obvious roles

[68] As Ferguson, *Chivalric*, pp. 40–4, observes, the concept of the learned knight was not unknown during the middle ages, though the onus was placed on the virtue of reading within a knight's education rather than on the idea that arms and letters constituted comparable and complementary modes of honourable service.

[69] Segar, *The Booke of Honor and Armes* (London, 1590), sigs Y1v–Z2r, and *Honor,* sigs A1r–A1v.

[70] Vale, *War*, pp. 100–28.

[71] J. R. Hale, *War and Society in Renaissance Europe, 1450–1620* (London, 1985), pp. 46–66, D. Eltis, *The Military Revolution in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (New York, 1998); G. Parker, *The Military Revolution: Military Innovation and the Rise of the West, 1500–1800* (Cambridge, 1988).

[72] Quoted in Vale, *War*, p. 129.

for heroic autonomy or the knight-errant. Declining too was the concept of a martial community that saw combat as a rules-bound ritual and their enemies as worthy opponents, the result of what Roger Manning characterises as a newer kind of 'instrumental war in which the enemy was an evil force or an obstacle to be destroyed'.[73]

Modern military historians have begun to question the long-held view that English military expertise lagged behind that of the rest of Europe until at least the 1580s, and that early Tudor armies were fettered by outmoded, purely chivalric priorities.[74] One still cannot ignore, however, the kinds of chivalric rhetoric seen above in Vergil's quotation about Henry VIII, or in the many instances of Tudor fighting men challenging their opponents to single combat or trials of arms.[75] In part, this was a reaction to the growing impersonalisation of war and the need to artificially contrive opportunities for single combat no longer common in battle. Manning proposes that the Elizabethan chivalric revival as a whole forms part of a response to the shifts outlined above towards more 'instrumental' warfare, and that it was closely associated with the intervention of English fighting men in continental European conflicts during the 1570s–80s.[76] English 'volunteer' companies had been in the Low Countries since the early 1570s but it was the formal declaration of war with Spain in 1585 that finally appears to have realised the militant Protestant activism of Leicester and his circle and offered the chance to engage in a new form of crusade – the epitome of chivalric warfare in its purest form. Leicester himself headed the 1585 expeditionary force, exemplifying the commonly accepted practice for armies to be led by high-ranking nobility, rather than military professionals. (This remained a source of tension, and frequently a tactical impediment, until well into the seventeenth century.) The earl had not seen combat for thirty years but threw himself into a war conceived as a quest for chivalric honour where every attention was paid to martial display but very little was achieved militarily. The expedition was plagued by problems with command, tactical inexperience, fractious relations between English captains and their Dutch allies, and a general failure to fully comprehend the demands of the early modern battlefield.[77] The indiscipline of English officers and their impatience with the inglorious nature of siege warfare revealed the limitations

[73] Manning, *Swordsmen*, pp. 5–6.

[74] L. MacMahon, 'Chivalry, Military Professionalism and the Early Tudor Army in Renaissance Europe', in *The Chivalric Ethos and the Development of Military Professionalism*, ed. D. J. B. Trim (Leiden, 2003), pp. 183–212; J. Raymond, *Henry VIII's Military Revolution: The Armies of Sixteenth-Century Britain and Europe* (New York, 2007), pp. 7–14.

[75] J. Childs, *Henry VIII's Last Victim: The Life and Times of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey* (London, 2006), p. 205; McCoy, *Rites*, p. 10; Manning, *Swordsmen*, p. 7.

[76] R. B. Manning, *An Apprenticeship in Arms: The Origins of the British Army, 1585–1702* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 27–8.

[77] *Ibid.*, pp. 24–40.

of seeking opportunities to indulge the more individualistic impulses associated with chivalric combat when fighting a well-trained, frequently ruthless enemy.

Around a third of the regular participants in the Accession Day tilts joined Leicester's expedition, including Sir Philip Sidney and Robert Devereux, second earl of Essex. The living manifestation of the sort of hybrid figure mentioned above, Sidney embodies the fusion of humanist and chivalric values that exemplifies how chivalry continued to evolve during the sixteenth century. Spenser celebrated him as 'worthy of all titles both of learning and chevalrie'.[78] In both his own writings and those used to commemorate him following his death from a combat wound in 1586, Sidney provided a model of how the arts of pen and sword might be synthesised. In *The Defence of Poesy* (*c.* 1580) he claimed that 'poetry is the companion of camps [and] *Orlando Furioso*, or honest King Arthur, will never displease a soldier'. He also argued that the perceived decline of poetry in Elizabethan England stemmed from the current 'over-faint quietness' in military affairs.[79] Recalling former complainants of chivalry's decline, Sidney holds up poetry as a potential cure for the nation's effeminacy manifested by its military inactivity and weakness, and its failure to engage in armed intervention overseas.[80] When Sidney finally saw action in the Low Countries he too conducted himself in a manner that prioritised the pursuit of individual honour over collective tactical utility or efficiency, and he viewed his fellow officers as a 'gallant kind of competition'.[81] The well-known story of Sidney forgoing his leg-armour at Zutphen and consequently receiving a mortal wound was further evidence of the limitations of 'gallant' practices on the battlefield.[82] Contemporary militarist Sir John Smythe blamed Sidney's death on the new trend among English officers of 'unsoldierlike' under-arming.[83] The dying Sidney bequeathed his sword to another gallant present at Zutphen, the earl of Essex. Proving himself the spiritual heir of Sidney and Leicester, Essex made extensive use of the symbolic language of chivalry in the tiltyard, on the battlefield and in his interactions with Elizabeth, and he devoted himself to fashioning an identity founded on martial ambition and glory.[84] Ever-alert to opportunities for chivalric display, Essex challenged his enemies to single combat at sieges at Lisbon (1589) and Rouen

[78] Edmund Spenser, *Shorter Poems*, ed. R. McCabe (Harmondsworth, 1999), p. 23.
[79] P. Sidney, *Sidney's 'The Defence of Poesy' and Selected Renaissance Literary Criticism,* ed. *G. Alexander* (London, 2004), pp. 37, 42.
[80] B. Worden, *The Sound of Virtue: Philip Sidney's 'Arcadia' and Elizabethan Politics* (New Haven, 1996), pp. 58–70, 129–45.
[81] Fulke Greville, *Prose Works*, ed. J. Gouws (Oxford, 1986), p. 73.
[82] J. A. Dop, *Eliza's Knights: Soldiers, Poets and Puritans in the Netherlands, 1572–86* (Alblasserdam, 1981), pp. 4–6.
[83] A. Stewart, *Sir Philip Sidney: A Double Life* (London, 2000), pp. 312–13.
[84] McCoy, *Rites*, pp. 79–102; J. Dickinson, *Court Politics and the Earl of Essex, 1589–1601* (London, 2012), pp. 5–23.

(1591). His expeditions to Cadiz (1596) and the Azores (1597) were conducted with similar priority given to individual feats of honour and competitive amateur gallantry rather than military objectives. Poet Arthur Gorges's account of the Azores voyage criticised the English 'unproper and vaine manner of going to the warres […] rather like Maskers then Souldiers'.[85] The excessive numbers of fighting men from his retinues that Essex knighted during the 1590s, while seeming to firmly attach such an honour to military office, attracted resentment from Elizabeth for bearing all the hallmarks of an autonomous over-mighty subject.[86] Essex's concerted campaign to secure the office of earl marshal – the principal military and heraldic officer of state – further signalled his preoccupation with chivalric ritual, and with controlling the all-important currency of honour. His limited success upon the battlefield, however, demonstrated again that it was with chivalry's instrumental function as a symbolic language, and as a way of seeing and characterising political relationships, that he was most concerned. Indeed, Essex's use of chivalry for self-promotional ends seems to bear out Erasmus's and More's objections regarding its damaging, obfuscatory potential.

The extensive recourse made to chivalry by Leicester, Sidney and Essex, both as a symbolic language and as a way of conceiving military identity, demonstrates that it was certainly not an inert or purely decorative concept during the later sixteenth century insofar as it still possessed a powerful rhetorical force for those seeking renown, advancement or honour. As an idealised set of rules and practices, chivalry continued to offer a way of characterising military identity even when it was evident from contemporary warfare – viewed with the luxury of historical hindsight – that there was little place for the pursuit of individual honour, or tactics built around the same, in an effective army. As Manning and others have argued, it is really the secular code and cult of honour that persist during the early modern period as an evolved state of chivalry, the distillation of an ideal that survives in martial culture until long into the seventeenth century.[87] Whether or not it was desirable or effective for it to have survived and informed military thinking for so long is another matter. Sidney's death may prompt questions about the efficacy of that hybrid figure of the 'scholar-knight', though it would be incorrect to suggest his passing reflects the failure of a naive ideal or that the humanist idea of honour gained through civic action is automatically proven the more superior form. His death does, however, form part of the long-running story of English military professionalism and another instance that raises questions about the relative aptitude of noble or gentry commanders and professional soldiers whose experience and knowledge, rather than rank, qualified them to lead men into battle.

[85] Quoted in Davis, *Chivalry*, p. 102.
[86] Stone, *Crisis*, pp. 72–4.
[87] Manning, *Swordsmen*, pp. 58–65; Vale, *War*, p. 174.

Four centuries before Sidney's death, Peter of Blois lamented how the knighthood of his day appeared to have forgotten the 'military art' set out by Vegetius and others, and consequently had fallen into ill-discipline. Vegetius, together with a number of other classical military authorities including Julius Caesar and Frontinus, was being looked to extensively during the later sixteenth century for models of how to best recruit, train and drill groups of fighting men. A wide range of manuals on martial discipline, militia handbooks and treatises on more technical aspects of modern warfare (such as gunnery) were produced from the 1580s onwards that regularly drew on classical sources and just as often restated the effectiveness of the learned soldier or commander. The emphasis here was less on perfection of an individual and more on the efficacy of the commander as a leader of soldiers, and on how each fighting man working in concert, sometimes armed with different kinds of weaponry, could move and fight as part of a disciplined *group*. Of particular significance when thinking about chivalry and the place of errantry on the battlefield were the manuals for drilling that first appear in England in the early seventeenth century prescribing, often with illustrations, how a soldier functioned metonymically as one unit of a greater collective body.[88] It could be argued that it was the classically grounded military manuals of the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries that presented a greater threat to early modern iterations of chivalric military identity than the civic-oriented, fundamentally irenic humanist new learning of nearly a century earlier.

Any attempt to close a chapter all about the difficulty of identifying an end (or *the* end) of chivalry is probably always going to appear somewhat provisional. The focus here has been upon the period most commonly treated by historians as containing within it, if not the moment at which chivalry can be said to have irreparably declined or ended, then the seeds of some later terminal point. As contended above, attempts to plot the temporal decline of chivalry frequently become compromised by the malleable, adaptable nature of the concept under consideration. Ferguson proposed that the chivalric revival ended with Elizabeth's death, and the subsequent cessation of the cult of the queen and formal hostilities with Spain.[89] King James largely eschewed chivalric forms in favour of biblical and classical sources when it came to royal mythography, and, as noted earlier, devalued knighthood through his injudicious use of the honours system. English martial culture continued to flourish throughout the first decades of Stuart rule and fighting men still found ready employment in volunteer companies supporting co-religionists in the Low Countries. The king's eldest son Henry was widely viewed as a new hope for militant Protestant activism, and

[88] D. R. Lawrence, *The Complete Soldier: Military Books and Military Culture in Early Stuart England, 1603–1645* (Leiden, 2009), ch. 3.

[89] Ferguson, *Chivalric*, p. 140.

something of a chivalric cult developed around the prince during the first years of Jacobean rule.[90] Henry was a keen tilter and participated in an elaborate show at Whitehall on Twelfth Night 1610 in which he fought a foot-combat at barriers. This formed part of a larger entertainment scripted by Ben Jonson that spoke directly of the ruinous current state of the House of Chivalry and of the instrumental part Henry would play in returning such glories to the kingdom.[91] *Prince Henry's Barriers* looked back to the Arthurian golden age of chivalry but was also implicitly nostalgic for a more recent age of militant nostalgia under James's predecessor.[92] Jonson's script also drew upon the tradition developed during the preceding century that synthesised the chivalric with the classical, and contemplated the relationship between civic and martial honour. When Henry died in 1612 aged eighteen, it must have seemed as if the dramatic rituals performed at Whitehall to reawaken chivalry had come to nought, and that chivalry would no longer play an active part in the symbolic language of court politics.[93] An end of chivalry, or merely a retreat? Although Henry's brother Charles showed little interest in such forms himself, there is ample evidence that codes of chivalric honour formed part of a common political language and frame of reference during the 1630s and '40s for Parliamentarians and Royalists alike.[94] Looking beyond the early modern period, Clare Simmons's chapter below demonstrates the continued resilience of chivalric forms in the medievalism of a later age.

[90] Lawrence, *Complete*, pp. 105–26; S. Fraser, *The Prince Who Would be King: The Life and Death of Henry Stuart* (London, 2017), pp. 153–7.

[91] Young, *Tudor*, pp. 38–9, 177–83.

[92] R. M. Smuts, *Court Culture and the Origins of a Royalist Tradition in Early Stuart England* (Philadelphia, 1987), pp. 23–31.

[93] R. Strong, *Henry, Prince of Wales and England's Lost Renaissance* (London, 1986), pp. 220–5.

[94] J. S. A. Adamson, 'Chivalry and Political Culture in Caroline England', in *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England*, ed. K. Sharpe and P. Lake (London, 1994), pp. 161–98. See also W. Hunt, 'Civic Chivalry and the English Civil War', in *The Transmission of Culture in Early Modern Europe*, ed. A. Grafton and A. Blair (Philadelphia, 1990), pp. 204–37; R. Cust, 'Chivalry and the English Gentleman', in *The Oxford Handbook to the Age of Shakespeare*, ed. M. Smuts (Oxford, 2016), pp. 458–76.

15

Chivalric Medievalism

CLARE SIMMONS

In *Life on the Mississippi*, Mark Twain cites *Don Quixote* and *Ivanhoe* as 'a curious exemplification of the power of a single book for good or harm.'[1] In his opinion, 'The first swept the world's admiration for the mediaeval chivalric-silliness out of existence; and the other restored it.' Twain argues that this is of catastrophic historical importance and that *Ivanhoe*'s author Sir Walter Scott is, through the 'change of character' he inspired in Southern gentlemen, 'in great measure responsible for the [American Civil] war.'[2]

Even though Twain is being hyperbolic here, the identification of Southern gentlemen with the perceived values of chivalry points to its growing influence and cultural effect in the nineteenth century. It is possible, of course, to find instances of chivalric medievalism in earlier times, but the best known of these seem to function either ironically (as in the case of *Don Quixote*), or symbolically, as in Edmund Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, which uses the structure of the chivalric quest to represent the English Christian's pursuit of moral virtues. Yet the revival of interest in medieval style and behavior in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries simultaneously brought about a new interest in taking chivalry literally, and Twain raises the question of the consequences of carrying through chivalric codes of conduct. In both *Life on the Mississippi* (1883) and *A Connecticut Yankee at King Arthur's Court* (1889) he represents chivalry as elitist, racist, impractical, superstitious, and the inspiration for pointless violence, and some later adaptations of chivalry by racist groups would seem to confirm his point of view. Many of his contemporaries, however, would have disagreed with him. The neo-medievalism of the present day seen in video games and film and television admittedly tends to equate knights in armor with extreme violence: medieval weaponry is the vehicle for brutal hand-to-hand fighting, often accompanied by treachery rather than chivalric values. In nineteenth-century Britain, in contrast, chivalric medievalism was associated less with violent action than with style

[1] M. Twain, *Life on the Mississippi, with more than 300 illustrations* (Boston, MA, 1883), p. 469.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 469.

and self-image. Nineteenth-century chivalric medievalism nevertheless shares in common with the majority of medieval-themed video games and movies a hybrid-period approach to representing chivalry, focusing less on authenticity than on representing what contemporary audiences will recognize as medieval.

A Google N-gram search of the word 'chivalry' in English-language books suggests that it peaked in proportional usage in the 1820s, but faded rapidly after 1900. The decline after the 1820s is probably explained by the adoption of the term 'medieval/mediaeval' to describe the middle ages. Yet at the same time that the middle ages were being defined more broadly than 'the age of chivalry', the associations of chivalry became an increasing part of the medieval revival. The word 'chivalric' is certainly more commonly used before the term 'mediaeval' entered everyday use in the 1830s yet its proportional frequency has remained fairly steady up to the present. Most striking, however, is the term 'chivalrous', which emerges in common use in the 1830s and suffers a precipitous decline after 1900. This chapter explores the rise and fall of the concept of being 'chivalrous,' from its origins in a sense of style to the tragic challenge to chivalric values of the First World War, and suggests that although the connotations of being 'chivalrous' may have faded, present-day re-envisionings of chivalry owe at least as much to nineteenth-century chivalric medievalism as to the chivalry of the middle ages.

Chivalric Style

The English Gothic Revival of the later eighteenth century paved the way for the chivalric medievalism of the nineteenth century. Many texts in the Gothic genre show ambivalence towards chivalry, featuring oppressive aristocrats who exploit women and their servants. For example, in the work that established the Gothic genre, Horace Walpole's *Castle of Otranto*, published in the guise of a genuinely old text in 1764, the most powerful men, Manfred and Frederic, have knightly pretensions. At the same time they are more than willing to have sexual relations with each other's daughters. Their plans are thwarted by supernaturally giant symbols of knighthood, a huge helmet and sword. These prove to be connected to the spirit of the knightly Alphonso, whose heir Theodore, the only truly chivalric living character in the story, is finally restored as ruler. In William Godwin's *Caleb Williams*, Ferdinando Falkland, who had a 'love of chivalry and romance' from his youth and who seems to embody chivalric honor to the extent of composing an 'Ode to the Genius of Chivalry', proves to be a liar and a murderer.[3] Yet even though the Gothic novel frequently concludes with the critique or even

[3] W. Godwin, *Things as they are; Or, The Adventures of Caleb Williams* (1794; London, 1988), pp. 12, 27–8.

the disruption of oppressive hierarchy embodied in chivalry, enthusiasm for the Gothic style also influenced the decorative arts, especially architecture; and to a marked extent, the perception of patterns of behavior.

Early British Gothic Revival architecture of the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries tends to show the influence of ecclesiastical design more than a direct reflection of chivalry. Horace Walpole, for example, designed his home Strawberry Hill in the 'pointed' style with the Gothic windows and embellishments of church architecture. Because a number of great estates were built on the remnants of pre-Reformation ecclesiastical properties, the Gothic-influenced 'abbey' took on a new popularity. Byron's ancestral home, for example, was Newstead Abbey; in Jane Austen's *Northanger Abbey* (1817) Catherine Morland is deeply disappointed to find that the house of the title is not Gothic as she had expected. William Beckford took Gothic architecture further by ordering the rapid construction of a Gothic building that he called Fonthill Abbey; the cement structure collapsed after a few years.

Yet although the exterior of these Gothic Revival 'abbeys' tended to be ecclesiastical, the interiors contained chivalric flourishes such as great halls, displays of weapons, and coats of arms in various forms: shields, banners, stained glass, furniture embellishments, and so on, reminding observers of – or in many instances fictitiously laying claim to – a family knightly inheritance. William 'the Conqueror', as he was always named by nineteenth-century writers, had granted land to his Norman knights, and to own a historic castle was a claim to a connection with ancient chivalry. In point of fact, 'abbeys' generally only came to families after the dissolution of the monasteries, and even then many properties were the result of later royal patronage or purchase. For example, William Beckford's vast wealth that he used to build Fonthill Abbey came not from ancient estates earned by feats of arms but from his father's sugar plantations in Jamaica. Similarly, in the years after Waterloo Sir Walter Scott used his income as a writer to expand his property in what he perceived as a Scottish version of the Gothic Revival style, giving it the ecclesiastical name of Abbotsford. A particularly distinctive room of the interior, however, is the Armoury, which contained suits of armor and vast arrangements of ancient and modern weapons.[4] During the Napoleonic era Scott had participated in local defense activities, and his incorporation of relics from the Battle of Waterloo into his tribute to chivalry implies his belief in the survival of chivalric codes of behavior. Scott continued to expand Abbotsford, so that eventually it had a grand entrance hall, also decorated with weaponry, hunting trophies, and suits of armor.

From the late eighteenth century, chivalry also influenced the exterior appearance of grand houses, where some property owners adopted the habit

[4] See C. Wainwright, *The Romantic Interior* (New Haven, 1989), pp. 147–207. M. Girouard, *The Return to Camelot: Chivalry and the English Gentleman* (New Haven, 1981), pp. 35–44.

of making actual medieval castles more medieval to suggest a continued military tradition. The architect William Atkinson, who contributed to the design of Abbotsford, built or remodeled a dozen castles in the 1820s, incorporating towers, battlements, and armories. George IV commissioned the prolific architect Jeffry Wyattville to add to the Gothic styling of Windsor castle, including a banqueting hall with chivalric embellishments. Like Windsor, Arundel castle in Sussex was originally a Norman motte and bailey fortress, but from the 1780s to around 1900 successive dukes of Norfolk added to the castle, including the addition of a large round medieval-style tower in the late 1800s. Another spectacular Victorian example is Cardiff castle, to which the designer William Burges added grand chivalric flourishes in the 1860s for its owner the third marquis of Bute, who acquired the property by marriage.[5] For the same patron Burges also designed Castell Coch in south Wales, where the round towers of the exterior seem to have been an attempt at medieval authenticity. Although the connection of many of these buildings with chivalry is architectural rather than historical, today a number of them, including Cardiff and Arundel, host medieval jousting tournaments for visitors.[6]

Chivalry received official sanction when William Dyce was commissioned to produce paintings on Arthurian themes for the new Gothic Palace of Westminster. As Christine Poulson has noted, at this time Arthurianism, once embraced by the Tudors as a means of laying claim to kingship, was out of style; on researching the stories, Dyce also realized that elements of the Arthurian stories did not mix well with Victorian morality.[7] By 1847 he had decided to focus on chivalric virtues, and his paintings represent the knightly qualities of mercy, hospitality, generosity, religion, and courtesy (planned paintings on courage and fidelity were never completed). Dyce's work thus provides a significant moment in bringing together the Arthurian stories and ideals of chivalry.

Chivalry similarly provided a fruitful form of subject-matter for Pre-Raphaelite artists, who embraced what they believed to be the artistic style of the middle ages. Pre-Raphaelite paintings were heavily narrative, and while they tended to center on an identifiable woman from legend, history, or fiction, in many cases a connection with the chivalric world was implied, as in the many paintings inspired by Tennyson's 'Lady of Shalott', where the handsome Sir Lancelot unwittingly prompts the Lady to bring the curse upon herself. Alternatively, the woman might be interacting with a knight in armor, as in John William Waterhouse's version of Keats's poem 'La Belle Dame Sans Merci'. Dante Gabriel

[5] See the official website, https://www.cardiffcastle.com (accessed August 8, 2017).

[6] See, for example, http://www.thejoustinglife.com/p/2016-jousting-tournaments.html (accessed August 8, 2017).

[7] C. Poulson, *The Quest for the Grail: Arthurian Legend in British Art 1840–1920* (Manchester, 1999), pp. 10–49.

1 Sir Galahad, George Frederick Watts (1860–62)

Rossetti tried to capture a medieval style in his paintings, and for the most part depicted characters from the Arthurian stories such as Percival and Galahad in chain-mail armor. Few artists, however, looked for historical accuracy, seemingly thinking that the shinier the armor, the better; and thus even Arthurian knights tended to be depicted in plate-armor of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. While shining armor was clearly a good test of the artist's skills, at the same time it suggested a chivalric idealism and purity: a good example is George Frederick Watts's 'Sir Galahad' (1862), quite possibly influenced by Tennyson's early poem in which Sir Galahad proclaims, 'My strength is as the strength of ten/ Because my heart is pure.'[8] Even after the Pre-Raphaelites, artists influenced by the Arts and Crafts movement and aestheticism, such as William Morris and Edward Burne-Jones, continued to depict medieval themes, including knights such as Lancelot, Galahad, and St George who connected national legend with present-day preoccupations.

Chivalric Behavior

In the Gothic Revival and nineteenth-century medievalism, however, chivalry was not just a style but was also associated with behavior. The first significant exploration of chivalry in the English Gothic Revival period is Richard Hurd's *Letters on Chivalry and Romance* (1762). Hurd's late entry into the Battle of the Books debate argues for the imaginative qualities of romance, which he identifies as having its origin in Gothic chivalry.[9] Hurd's acknowledged source of information about chivalry is Jean-Baptiste de la Curne de Sainte-Palaye's series of papers on 'ancient chivalry' in the publication of the French Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (1753). Sainte-Palaye sets his goal as to give an accurate account of chivalry, which he describes as 'the work of an enlightened political system, and the glory of the nations where it flourished.'[10] Sainte-Palaye enthusiastically represents chivalry as embodying truth, honor, courtesy, courage, generosity, Christianity, and (the subject to which he returns repeatedly) devotion to women. Unlike many of his successors, Sainte-Palaye is scrupulous about noting his sources; at the same time he accepts romances as providing an accurate depiction of chivalry and cites chroniclers such as Froissart as

[8] 'Sir Galahad' (composed *c.* 1834). *The Poems of Tennyson*, ed. C. Ricks (London, 1969), p. 610.

[9] R. Hurd, *Letters on Chivalry and Romance* (1762; collected works 2, 1765), p. 198.

[10] J. de la Curne de Sainte-Palaye, 'Memoires sur L'Ancienne Chevalerie', in *Histoire de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres: depuis son establissement jusqu'à présent. Avec les memoirs des littérature tirez des registres de cette Académie, depuis son renouvellement jusqu'en M.DCCX* (Paris, 1753), 20: p. 597. My translation.

documentary evidence. British devotees of chivalry such as Hurd probably read Sainte-Palaye's treatise in the original French, although Susannah Dobson translated it into English a few years later. The Preface to Dobson's translation quotes other antiquarians who insist that romance is the 'well' from which 'we must draw the true knowledge of antiquity.'[11]

Following Sainte-Palaye's account, chivalry emerged, Hurd argues, as an offshoot of the 'feudal constitution'; during the period of the 'erection of a prodigious number of petty tyrannies,' even during times when the barons were not at war, 'military discipline was not to be relaxed … and hence the proper origin of JUSTS and TURNAMENTS; those images of war, which were kept up in the castles of the barons, and, by a useful policy, converted into the amusement of the knights, when their arms were employed on no serious occasion.'[12] Chivalric behavior took its recognized form in the Crusades: '*Daring* to madness, in enterprizes of hazard; burning with zeal for the delivery of the *oppressed*; and which was deemed the height of *religious* merit, for the rescue of the holy city out of the hands of infidels: And lastly exalting their honour of *chastity* so high to profess celibacy; as they constantly did, in the several orders of knighthood created on that extravagant occasion.'[13] Afterwards, 'the restless spirit of their vassals, having little employment abroad, and being restrained in a good degree from exerting itself with success in domestic quarrels, broke out in all the extravagances of KNIGHT-ERRANTRY.'[14] In time, the Crusading ardor 'naturally softened into the fictitious images and courtly exercises of war, in *justs and tournaments*; where the honour of the ladies supplied the place of the zeal for the holy Sepulchre.'[15]

Hurd was possibly the first but certainly not the last to treat all accounts of chivalry from romance, history, poetry and even allegory as of equal weight, citing the actions and behavior of historical figures such as Edward III and legendary ones such as Lancelot with little distinction. He moreover makes the provocative claim that Edmund Spenser was a devotee of medieval chivalry. Living at a time when Gothic chivalry had become unpopular, Spenser had to disguise his love for chivalry in the form of allegory: 'Spenser gave an air of mystery to his subject, and pretended that his stories of knights and giants were but the cover of profound wisdom. In short, to keep off the eyes of the prophane from prying too nearly into his subject, he threw about it the mist of allegory; he moralized his song: and the virtues and vices lay hid under his warriours and

[11] *Memoires of Ancient Chivalry … translated from the French of M. de Sainte-Palaye*, trans. S. Dobson (London, 1784), p. xvi.
[12] Hurd, *Letters on Chivalry*, pp. 199–201.
[13] *Ibid.*, p. 213.
[14] *Ibid.*, p. 215.
[15] *Ibid.*, p. 217.

enchanters.'[16] Hurd's disregard of the Protestant allegory in the *Faerie Queene* could be dismissed as bad reading, but it is also an early example of the medieval revival's inclination to look past religious differences with the middle ages, focusing instead on the behavior that the religion inspired. For Hurd, Spenser's poem is important not because it represents religious truths, but because it shows chivalric conduct.

Hurd points out that some women participated in chivalric behavior. Sainte-Palaye had portrayed women not only as the inspirers of knightly deeds but as active participants in preparing knights for tournaments and battle and caring for their needs; he also praises Joan of Arc as the reviver of chivalric values. Hurd argues that there were indeed 'woman-warriors', based on his reading of Italian romance and sources such as Anna Comnena's *Alexiad,* which mentions the armor-clad wife of the Norman Count Robert.[17] As a devotee of Spenser, Hurd would also have known of the representation of Britomart in *The Faerie Queene*. The Victorians, who for the most part believed in distinctive male and female characteristics, were less certain that female warriors were compatible with a natural gender division. In Charlotte Mary Yonge's *Clever Woman of the Family* (1865), Rachel Curtis's heart is said to throb 'with Britomart's devotion to her Amoret.'[18] Rachel's wish to protect her friend Fanny is represented as unwomanly ambition not because she desires a same-sex relationship (the author seems to approve of Fanny's eventual partnering with another woman), but because Rachel is seeking to act like a knight, a masculine profession. Nevertheless, even if the idea of female knights was incompatible with Victorian gender assumptions, the image of the armed woman warrior survived in the depiction of Britannia as a symbol of Britain: Britannia wears a helmet and sometimes a breastplate; carries a shield usually emblazoned with the Union flag; and is armed with a trident, suggesting power over both land and sea. Like not Britomart but Una in *The Faerie Queene*, her companion animal is a male lion, suggesting that she will have both human and divine protection against her enemies.

Outside of allegory, however, in nineteenth-century Britain (and, as Twain suggests, in North America) chivalric behavior was increasingly identified with masculinity. A number of works appearing in the 1820s were influential on later conceptions of chivalric medievalism and how gentlemen should behave. The first and most significant is Sir Walter Scott's romance *Ivanhoe*. When Scott's publisher Archibald Constable acquired the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* in 1815, he commissioned Scott to write essays for the supplement, notably on 'Chivalry' and 'Romance'. According to Edgar Johnson, Constable obtained for Scott a

[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 330–1.
[17] *Ibid.*, p. 295.
[18] C. M. Yonge, *The Clever Woman of the Family* (1865), ed. C. A. Simmons (Peterborough, ON, 2001), p. 45.

copy of Sainte-Palaye's *Mémoires sur l'ancienne chevalerie* in 1817.[19] Scott's 'Essay on Chivalry', published in 1818, lists few references but follows Sainte-Palaye fairly closely in its description of the process of becoming a knight and its account of tournaments. 'Knighthood was the goal to which the ambition of every noble youth turned,' Scott proclaims, adding that 'in theory at least' the honour 'could only be conferred on the gallant, the modest, and the virtuous.'[20] He agrees with Hurd and Saint-Palaye in noting that religion (although he adds that it 'degenerated into brutal intolerance and superstition') was the primary motivator, and 'a devotion to the female sex' the second.[21] And like Hurd and Sainte-Palaye, he sometimes takes romance at face value: for example, he asserts that 'it was usual for the adventurous knight to display his courage by stationing himself at some pass in a forest, on a bridge, or elsewhere, compelling all passengers to avouch the superiority of his own valour, and the beauty of his mistress, or otherwise to engage with him in single combat.'[22] He is convinced that 'the habits derived from the days of Chivalry still retain a striking effect on our manners,' including a commitment to truth and the protection of women. Scott also suggests that the surviving practice of dueling is derived from chivalric behavior.[23]

Scott's 1820 novel *Ivanhoe* presented the ideas of the 'Essay on Chivalry' to an even wider audience. The representation of chivalry in *Ivanhoe* is not entirely positive. Sir Wilfred of Ivanhoe, who even in disguise maintains that 'the English chivalry was second to NONE who ever drew sword in defence of the Holy Land,' is incapacitated and unable to fight for much of the story.[24] King Richard the Lionheart is absent at the beginning of the tale, leaving the 'condition of the English nation' in a 'miserable' state,[25] and at the conclusion is set to leave again, causing the narrator to observe, 'In the lion-hearted King, the brilliant, but useless character, of a knight of romance, was in a great measure realized and revived.'[26] Richard's quest for personal glory is at the expense of his subjects, prompting the question of whether honor and duty are necessarily synonymous. The Knight Templar Sir Brian de Bois-Guilbert has a reputation for being

[19] E. Johnson, *Sir Walter Scott, The Great Unknown*, 2 vols (New York, 1970), I, p. 575.
[20] Sir Walter Scott, 'Essay on Chivalry', in *The Miscellaneous Prose Works of Sir Walter Scott* (Edinburgh, 1848), p. 525.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 529.
[22] *Ibid.*, p. 535. The concept of guarding a point beyond which others may not pass is parodied in a number of forms in *Monty Python and the Holy Grail* (dir. Terry Gilliam, 1975), where the representation of chivalry, including the gentlemanly but ineffective King Arthur, is also indebted to chivalric medievalism.
[23] For example, pp. 534, 536.
[24] Sir Walter Scott, *Ivanhoe* (1820; Oxford, 1990), p. 67. Although *Ivanhoe* bears a publication date of 1820, it was published in later 1819.
[25] *Ibid.*, p. 86.
[26] *Ibid.*, p. 458.

'valiant' and renowned 'in all games of chivalry', but his desire for the Jewish healer Rebecca is a parody of courtly love, and he allows himself to be ruled and finally destroyed by 'the violence of his own contending passions.'[27] Nevertheless, Scott's first audience seems to have selectively read his depiction of chivalry as providing the opportunity for bravery, personal honour, and the defence of the weak and oppressed.

Particularly influential is the description of the tournament. In Scott's 'Essay on Chivalry' the account of tournaments is relatively brief,[28] but in preparing this article Scott clearly familiarized himself with tournament practices, and he incorporated his research into *Ivanhoe*. Even the account of the grand tournament in *Ivanhoe* contains some hesitation as to how the reader should feel. The grand tournament described in the early part of the novel is represented as a distraction from the sorry condition of the nation and is presided over by the unworthy Prince John, who steals Isaac of York's money in the process. A tournament is, the narrator maintains, 'the grand spectacle of that age,' and the pageantry of Ashby creates a scene 'singularly romantic.'[29] The Disinherited Knight fights not only with 'courage and dexterity' but also with 'courtesy'.[30] All the same, the participants wrangle over the choice of the Queen of Beauty and of Love, and even the tournament rules. The final mass battle or mêlée is described with heavy irony as 'one of the most gallantly contested tournaments of that age; for although only four knights, including one who was smothered by the heat of his armour, had died upon the field, yet upwards of thirty were desperately wounded, four or five of whom never recovered. Several more were disabled for life; and those who escaped best carried the marks of the conflict to the grave with them. Hence it is always mentioned in the old records, as the Gentle and Joyous Passage of Arms of Ashby.'[31] Although Scott may have historical justification for pointing out the brutal cost of displays of chivalry, the irony goes further. This event is not mentioned in old records since it is as fictional as the Wardour Manuscript said by Scott's also-fictional editors to contain the history of *Ivanhoe*. A remarkable phenomenon of chivalric medievalism is that it earnestly rejects both the critical, ironic tone of much of the narration in *Ivanhoe* and the novel's layered fictionality: even though the narrative provides many clues that this is not history, *Ivanhoe* becomes for many of its readers both source-book and conduct-book.

[27] *Ibid.*, pp. 88, 490.
[28] Scott notes in the 'Essay on Chivalry' that the 'laws, customs, and regulations' of tournaments would be discussed in a different encyclopaedia entry (p. 535).
[29] *Ivanhoe*, pp. 88–9.
[30] *Ibid.*, p. 110.
[31] *Ibid.*, p. 149.

Scott had noted in his 'Essay on Chivalry' that 'from the wild and overstrained courtesies of Chivalry has been derived our present system of manners',[32] but his admirers did not necessarily pick up the implied criticism as chivalric behavior was increasingly associated with masculinity. A few British authors followed Scott's lead with histories of chivalry. A notable feature is that some trace the origins of chivalry not to France but to the practices of ancient Germanic tribes described by Tacitus: for example, Charles Mills's *History of Chivalry: Or Knighthood and its Times* (1825) notes that the 'courage of the knight of chivalry was inspired by the lady of his affections, a feature clearly deducible from the practice among the German nations, of women mingling in the field of battle with their armed brothers, fathers, and husbands.'[33] An enthusiastic admirer of Froissart and Scott, Mills nevertheless describes the Christian religion as 'the keystone of the arch,'[34] while the tournament is 'that splendid scene of beauty's power.'[35] Mills praises knights without fully endorsing medieval structures of society and religion. Of the characteristics of knights, he lists first courage, noting that whatever the cause a knight relished the opportunity 'to display his valour,'[36] yet showed 'pity' for the vanquished.[37] The desire for honor led some to become knights-errant, 'a very considerable means of correcting the state of violence and misrule in feudal times.'[38] Knights were religious defenders of Christianity, virtuous, generous, humble, courteous and devoted to their lady-loves.

Another *History of Chivalry* by the prolific author G. P. R. James is similarly uncritical in its representation of chivalry: James defines chivalry as 'a military institution, prompted by enthusiastic benevolence, sanctioned by religion, and combined with religious ceremonies, the purpose of which was to protect the weak from the oppression of the powerful, and to defend the right cause against the wrong.'[39] James disagrees with Mills's account of the origins of chivalry, arguing that it emerged during a time of feudal oppression, and that its goal was always an altruistic one. He endorses the Crusades, the main focus of his researches, as the embodiment of a desire to right wrongs against the Christian faith. Henry Stebbing, who shared Scott's publisher Constable, also produced a two-volume *History of Chivalry* in 1829, where he ascribes chivalry's origin to the 'union of warlike virtues' of the Gothic tribes with 'religious devotion.'[40] Chiv-

[32] 'Essay on Chivalry', p. 536.
[33] C. Mills, *The History of Chivalry: Knighthood and its Times*, 2 vols (London, 1825), I, p. 8.
[34] *Ibid.*, p. 10.
[35] *Ibid.*, p. 25.
[36] *Ibid.*, p. 96.
[37] *Ibid.*, p. 100.
[38] *Ibid.*, p. 106.
[39] G. P. R. James, *The History of Chivalry* (London, 1830), p. 2.
[40] H. Stebbing, The *History of Chivalry and the Crusades*, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1829), I, pp. 15–16.

alry is thus 'that splendid institution that threw its lustre over so many ages of gloom and anarchy.'[41] In Stebbing's opinion, chivalry was established in France in the reign of Charlemagne, and came to England through William the Conqueror's feudal institutions. Stebbing claims that his history is a corrective to the 'highly coloured pictures' of knighthood then current,[42] yet he himself is carried away by the charm of chivalry: 'sure of respect,' the young knight 'went forth into the world, not to endure its ordinary troubles, but to contend with difficulties which it covered him with glory to dare.'[43]

In keeping with the histories of chivalry emerging in the 1820s, successive editions of Kenelm Henry Digby's *Broad Stone of Honour* show an increasingly intertwined view of the relationship between religion and chivalric behavior. Digby was still in his twenties when he published the first version in 1822. The book's title is a translation of Ehrenbreitstein, the Rhineland fortress that in Digby's opinion is emblematic of medieval chivalric fortitude, standing aloft 'free from the infection of a base world.'[44] Ironically, the fortress that Digby would have seen is itself a medievalist production: the French blew up the medieval fortress in 1801 and it was subsequently rebuilt.[45] The subtitle *Rules for the Gentlemen of England* makes a conscious connection with the tradition of the conduct book,[46] and Digby provides many examples of chivalric behavior for young gentlemen to follow so that they can 'emulate the virtue of their famous ancestors.'[47] The elitist nature of the work is shown in its refusal to translate passages from Greek, Latin, and French. Like other medievalists of the time, Digby makes extensive use of Froissart, Sainte-Palaye, and romance to provide support for his claims. The examples are not exclusively medieval since Digby draws on his classical education by citing Greek and Roman instances of chivalrous behavior, yet he qualifies this by adding that 'chivalry derived some of its highest virtues from Christianity.'[48] Although he describes being a 'churl' as a state of mind rather than a social position, Digby idealizes a society with a chivalric ruling class: movements against that class such as the English Peasants' Revolt or French Revolution fill him with horror, and he cannot resist quoting Edmund Burke's lament, 'the age of chivalry is gone.'[49]

[41] *Ibid.*, I, p. 16.
[42] *Ibid.*, I, p. ix.
[43] *Ibid.*, I, p. 82.
[44] K. H. Digby, *The Broad Stone of Honour, or Rules for the Gentlemen of England*, 2nd edn (London, 1823), p. xiv.
[45] http://www.koblenz-tourism.com/culture/koblenz-attractions/ehrenbreitstein-fortress.html (accessed August 1, 2017).
[46] See Digby, *The Broad Stone of Honour*, I, p. x for the use of 'ensamples'.
[47] *Ibid.*, I, p. 9.
[48] *Ibid.*, I, p. xxvii.
[49] *Ibid.*, I, p. 647.

Coming to the conclusion that 'the Roman Catholic Church alone possesses all those perfections, which the ardent, but misguided zeal, of the modern youth has vainly sought to find in their numerous secret associations,'[50] Digby converted to Roman Catholicism. He revised the title in *The Broad Stone of Honour* to make it more explicitly chivalric: the subtitle became *The True Sense and Practice of Chivalry* and the material was rearranged into four sections emblematic of Christian chivalry. *Godefridus* and *Tancredus* recall figures associated with the Crusades; *Morus* celebrates Sir Thomas More, who refused to abandon the Catholic Church; and *Orlandus* is a two-part 'more extensive view of the virtues of the chivalrous character' of medieval times,[51] and is named after the contemporary of Charlemagne, Roland or Orlando, who is for Digby the embodiment of these virtues and a knight who admired similar virtues in others.

Presumably only gentlemen of independent means would have had the time to work through Digby's thousands of pages, but it seems that some did, and began to identify chivalry with gentlemanly conduct. A remarkable chivalric event occurred in the 1830s in the form of the Eglinton Tournament, planned as a full-scale enactment of the kind of tournament described by the historians – and in *Ivanhoe*. Planning began in 1838 and, as Mark Girouard notes, enthusiasm among young gentlemen soon reached fever pitch: they all wanted to fight as knights in armor.[52] A published set of engravings of what was supposed to happen demonstrates that the plan was to follow Scott's account of the Ashby tournament very closely, with the selection of a Queen of Beauty, suitable marshals and retainers, and a mêlée. The earl of Eglinton had himself painted in an opulent set of gilt armor, with a huge feathered plume.[53] The event drew a massive crowd of spectators, but the weather washed out many of the planned events.

While some laughed at the feudal pretensions that had prompted the Eglinton Tournament, it nevertheless brought public attention to chivalric medievalism, and certainly did not deter young gentlemen from chivalric thinking. The tournament coincided with the rise of the 'Young England' movement, although movement might be too strong a term. It was nevertheless a moment when chivalry was seen as a potential solution to what Thomas Carlyle, following Scott, called 'The Condition of England Question.'[54] At a time when the Tory party was looking for a new identity, young aristocrats such as George Sydney Smythe and Lord John Manners, both heirs to titles and Tory members of Parliament,

[50] Digby, *The Broad Stone of Honour: Godefridus* (London, 1829), p. 43.
[51] Digby, *The Broad Stone of Honour: Orlandus* (London, 1876), I, p. 5.
[52] Girouard, *Return to Camelot*, pp. 92–110.
[53] Victoria and Albert Museum, http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/t/the-eglinton-tournament/ (accessed August 4, 2017).
[54] T. Carlyle, *Past and Present* (1843; ed. R. D. Altick, New York, 1965), p. 7.

argued that a return to chivalry, at least as they understood it from Digby and Scott, would be a way of saving British society. Smythe published a poetry collection in 1844 under the title *Historic Fancies*; one poem somewhat awkwardly proclaims: 'Oh never yet was theme so meet for roundel or romance/ As the ancient aristocracy and chivalry of France.'[55] In a sonnet on Cambridge most likely addressed to Manners, he laments that 'Thou shouldst have lived, dear friend, in those old days,/ When deeds of high and chivalrous emprise/ Were guerdoned by the sympathy of eyes/ That smiled on Valour.'[56] Chivalrous aristocrats such as themselves would provide kindly leadership, and the bourgeois and working classes, who at this time were agitating for more political rights, would respect them in return for their feudal benevolence. Deeply involved in this group was Benjamin Disraeli, himself of Jewish origin rather than the British landowning aristocracy. He nevertheless promoted the ideas of Young England in his novels. The title character of *Coningsby, Or the New Generation* (1844) is probably based on Smythe; and *Sybil, Or the Two Nations* (1845) focuses on the need for leadership from the true descendants of William the Conqueror's Norman knights during the time of Chartist unrest. *Tancred, Or the New Crusade* (1847), the title showing the indebtedness to Digby, tells the story of a young aristocrat who believes that his life will have meaning if he retraces the journey of the Crusaders to Jerusalem. Ironically, when Disraeli achieved leadership in the Tory party he adopted a far more pragmatic approach to social problems and Smythe and Manners never achieved major roles in government.

Disraeli's novels, although inspired by his friendship with those who laid claim to being in the knightly class, spread these ideas to a wider readership. Similarly, Charlotte Mary Yonge's phenomenally popular 1853 novel *The Heir of Redclyffe* shows how ready the English public was for chivalric medievalism. The story of Sir Guy Morville, identified as a descendant of the Morville who participated in the murder of Thomas Becket, is deeply intertextual.[57] First, the book is full of Christian references, both to the Bible and to the writings of Yonge's Tractarian friends such as John Keble, author of *The Christian Year*. Even the choices of these, however, have a chivalric quality, tending to stress self-discipline and good works. The Arthurian overlay is surprisingly light: for example, Guy's relatives profess not to know who Sir Galahad is, and it is indicative of Guy's cousin Philip's lack of humility that he claims not to care. More prominent are references to the chivalric stories of Friedrich de la Motte Fouqué (1777–1843). Yonge was a lifelong admirer of La Motte Fouqué's tales, and many English-language

[55] G. S. Smythe, *Historic Fancies* (London, 1884), p. 36.

[56] 'Cambridge 1837'. *Ibid.*, p. 152. Smythe and Manners seem never to have been military men, but Smythe, who had numerous affairs with married women, participated in one of the last duels in England.

[57] C. M. Yonge, *The Heir of Redclyffe* (London, 1853).

editions of his 'Four Seasons' of the later Victorian period include a preface by Yonge. She identifies the author as 'one of the foremost of the minstrels or tell-tellers of the realm of spiritual chivalry', an imaginative tradition that she traces from Arthurian romance to Spenser's *Faerie Queene* to Don Quixote (who, unlike her direct contemporary Twain, she follows Digby in imagining as driven by the positive impulse of chivalry).[58] La Motte Fouqué's stories feature knights and tournaments, but with a northern overlay that gives a Germanic rather than French tone to the accounts of chivalric behavior.

The Heir of Redclyffe contains echoes of the story from La Motte Fouqué's tale known in English as 'The Two Captains'. One of the captains loves the other's sister, and this leads them into chivalric contest with each other, but ultimately to self-sacrifice. Sir Guy and his cousin Amy especially admire the story of Sintram, which Yonge explains as inspired by the Albrecht Dürer engraving usually known in English as 'The Knight, Sin, and Death': both La Motte Fouqué and Yonge herself are believed to have owned a copy (more disturbingly, given the Germanic overlay to chivalry, so did Hitler). 'Sintram and His Friends' tells the story of a young knight in a northern climate who must struggle against his own impulses, allegorized in the form of a bone-bearing hermit and a strange whispering dwarf: he desires the wife of a good knight, but he never acts upon his love. Guy's cousin Philip misinterprets the story's application: he thinks that Guy is like Sintram in desiring Philip's own fianceé Laura. In fact Guy is in love with Laura's sister Amy, and Guy sees his own Sintram-like struggle for self-control as driven not by love but by his hereditary quickness to anger. Both Amy and Guy admire Sintram's saintly mother Verena, who has become a religious recluse away from her bearish husband, and after Guy's death from illness contracted nursing Philip, his posthumous child is named Mary Verena. *The Heir of Redclyffe* was a huge best-seller, and although it concentrated on aristocratic characters it brought chivalric ideals to a wider audience. William Morris and Edward Burne-Jones, who kept the chivalric spirit alive in their contributions to the Arts and Crafts movement, drew inspiration from the story, as did soldiers serving in the Crimean War.

Another powerful influence on British chivalric identity was Tennyson's *Idylls of the King*. As *The Heir of Redclyffe* shows, even though historians of chivalry often cite Lancelot as though he was a historical figure, Malory was not widely read until Tennyson helped make this English version of the Arthurian cycle more popular. Tennyson had composed a version of the 'Morte D'Arthur' as early as the 1830s, soon after the death of his friend Arthur Henry Hallam. In 1859 he published a set of four blank-verse poems focusing on women in Arthurian legend, using not only Malory but also other versions of the stories. In the years

[58] C. M. Yonge, Preface to Friedrich de la Motte Fouqué, *Four Seasons* (London, 1896).

that followed, he expanded the poems into a twelve-book epic depicting the rise and fall of Camelot. In 'Guinevere' King Arthur recalls the idealism of the founding of the Round Table: he had gathered the 'knighthood-errant' into a 'glorious company/ the flower of men,/ To serve as model for the mighty world.'[59] The knights were pledged

> To reverence the King, as if he were
> Their conscience, and their conscience as their King,
> To break the heathen and uphold the Christ,
> To ride abroad redressing human wrongs,
> To speak no slander, no, nor listen to it,
> To honour his own word as if his God's,
> To lead sweet lives in purest chastity,
> To love one maiden only, cleave to her,
> And worship her by years of noble deeds,
> Until they won her …[60]

Tennyson placed sufficient importance on this code of chivalric behavior that when Queen Victoria's husband Albert died in 1861 the reissue of the *Idylls* included a 'Dedication' to Albert's memory quoting this passage from 'Guinevere'. Tennyson added that Albert had 'held [the poems] dear' and that he seems like 'my king's ideal knight.'[61] Unlike some of the accounts of chivalry, which follow romances in imagining that knights sometimes pledged themselves to already married or otherwise unattainable women, this version of chivalric devotion is strictly monogamous. Yet although the poem portrays Arthur as the embodiment of knightly perfection, the failings of his queen and knights end the 'true old times.'[62] One of the later sections to be composed, 'The Last Tournament', juxtaposes the 'Tournament of the Dead Innocence' with attacks on Arthur's realm and the love affair of Tristram and Isolt. When Tristram declares to the ladies in the gallery 'This day my Queen of Beauty is not here,' those who hear murmur 'All courtesy is dead' and 'The glory of our Round Table is no more.'[63] King Mark slays Tristram not in knightly combat by attacking him from behind: '"Mark's way," said Mark, and clove him through the brain.'[64] Yet despite the apparent failure of chivalric conduct, the possibility raised at the end of the cycle, however muted, is that Arthur might 'come again' in a new age of chivalry.

[59] Tennyson, 'Guinevere', lines 461–2: *Poems*, ed. Ricks, p. 1736.
[60] 'Guinevere', lines 465–73.
[61] 'Dedication': *Poems*, ed. Ricks, p. 1467.
[62] 'The Passing of Arthur', line 397: *Poems*, ed. Ricks, p. 1752.
[63] 'The Last Tournament', lines 209–12: *Poems*, ed. Ricks, p. 1710.
[64] *Ibid.*, lines 747–8: *Poems*, ed. Ricks, p. 1724.

Arthur had in fact come again, to the extent that 'knighthood' and 'King Arthur' were firmly united in the public consciousness.

The chivalric ideal was also compatible with Muscular Christianity, a post-Darwinian code of behavior that argued for the unity of body and spirit. The strong emphasis on being 'manly' and respecting similar qualities in others was patterned in part after images of knights. Muscular Christianity, with its Social Darwinist vision of a world ruled by the strong, tended to assume that white Anglo-Saxon males had earned the right to rule the world. Yet although committed to biological and social progress, Muscular Christianity also used tropes from chivalry to show how the strong should protect the weak (a category that seems to include all women). Edward Bulwer-Lytton's 1873 novel *Kenelm Chillingly* owes something to the 'Young England' of the author's youth. Yet Kenelm (who is named after the seventeenth-century Sir Kenelm Digby but whose name also suggests the author of *The Broad Stone of Honour*), raised to be a 'muscular Christian' by his baronet father, is also a chivalrous 'knight-errant' who when he sees a wrong, tries to right it, frequently by punching the offender.[65] Ideas of evolution and chivalry sometimes work in uneasy pairings. Charles Kingsley compared the naturalist's quest for scientific truth 'as one who should combine in himself the very essence of true chivalry, namely, self-devotion, whose moral character, like the true knight of old, must be gentle and courteous, brave and enterprising, and withal patient and undaunted in investigation … .'[66] Muscular Christianity, with its chivalric undertones, was the inspirer of the Boy Scout movement with its quest for 'good turns.' 'Brave Deeds and Chivalry' form a section of Robert Baden-Powell's 1908 *Scouting for Boys*. Instructors are told that to practice 'Chivalry' they should 'Make each scout tie a knot in his neck-tie every morning as a reminder to carry out his idea of doing a good turn every day'; they are recommended to take the boys 'to an armoury, such as the Tower of London or South Kensington Museum, and explain to them the armour and weapons of knights.'[67]

The First World War was perhaps the last moment when the term 'chivalrous' was unequivocally a compliment. In 1914–15, British men were urged to enlist as knights defending the people and redressing wrongs: for example, a war poster published by Parliament depicts a fully armed St George slaying a dragon, with the pronouncement 'Britain Needs You at Once.' Now, rather than chivalry

[65] E. Bulwer-Lytton, *Kenelm Chillingly* (1873; London, 1874). Kenelm is twice called a 'knight-errant', once by Mr Travers and once by the narrator (pp. 162, 289).

[66] *Glaucus; Or The Wonders of the Shore,* quoted in *Charles Kingsley, His Letters and Memoirs, edited by his Wife,* 2 vols (London, 1877), I, p. 407.

[67] R. Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Boys* (London, 1908), p. 250. Some echoes of Muscular Christianity may be found in the 'Narnia' stories of C. S. Lewis, where the Pevensie children become knights, or, at the allegorical level, committed to the defence of what is good.

BRITAIN·NEEDS
YOU·AT·ONCE
PUBLISHED BY THE PARLIAMENTARY RECRUITING COMMITTEE, LONDON. POSTER Nº 108.
PRINTED BY SPOTTISWOODE & Cº LTD LONDON, E.C.

2 'Britain Needs You At Once': World War One propaganda poster

being limited to a select few, every British man could be St George. The weekly comic magazine *Punch*, which in its founding days had mocked the aristocratic pretensions of medievalism, accused the Germans of a lack of chivalry and praised Britons for showing it. In November 1914, *Punch*'s editor Owen Seaman composed a poem commemorating Field-Marshal Earl Roberts, who had died visiting Indian troops in France (he was eighty-two and died of pneumonia). The accompanying illustration by Bernard Partridge shows a mourning woman (possibly Britannia) with a sword, and the caption 'A Pattern of Chivalry.' For most soldiers, however, the experience of warfare proved to be no chivalric adventure where individuals followed the rules of combat, but a mass slaughter with no chance of gaining glory. Wilfred Owen's poem 'Dulce et Decorum Est' critiques those who believe that it is sweet and glorious to die for one's country. 'Disabled' depicts a limbless soldier in a nursing home recalling how he signed up as a teenager looking for excitement and women's admiration. By 1917, Siegfried Sassoon accused women of believing 'that chivalry redeems a war's disgrace.'[68] T. S. Eliot's post-war poem *The Waste Land* makes use of Arthurian motifs, but has no knightly hero. To paraphrase Edmund Burke, the age of the chivalrous was gone.

The Afterlife of Chivalric Medievalism

The images of knighthood created by nineteenth-century medievalism survive to the present in a variety of forms. The focus on the rituals of the tournament and on the knightly admiration and protection of women adapts well to film. Even the first book of George R. R. Martin's *A Song of Ice and Fire* (the basis for the phenomenally successful television series *Game of Thrones*), while unchivalric in its violence, includes a tournament where the practices follow very closely the account in *Ivanhoe*, including the selection of a Queen of Beauty. Film designers have embraced the Pre-Raphaelite artists' period-hybrid depiction of knights; a striking example is the shining plate-armor in the ancient mythic world of John Boorman's 1981 film *Excalibur*. Film producers continue to believe that the name of King Arthur, brought back in public consciousness during the medieval revival to the extent that knights and Arthurianism are almost synonymous, will guarantee success at the box office.

[68] S. Sassoon, 'Glory of Women', *Collected Poems 1908–1956* (London, 1961), p. 79. Nevertheless, two decades later Sassoon was to publish a poetry collection whose title 'Vigils' connects the watchfulness of the soldiers of the First World War with the rituals of becoming a knight; 'The Merciful Knight' (pp. 221–2) imagines a knight of the past who embodied the quality that Sassoon sees lacking in present-day humanity, namely mercy.

Although, as critics such as Jacqueline Jenkins have pointed out, American films embrace the depiction of masculinity seen in chivalric medievalism,[69] such stories show a notable distinction from the vision of Young England (although perhaps less so from Muscular Christianity). In the American cinematic imagination, the best knight is often not nobly born, but wins tournaments and battles through strength and skill. For example, in *First Knight* (dir. Jerry Zucker, 1995), Lancelot is a homeless swordsman whose skills and love for Guinevere (courageous herself) bring him to Camelot. *A Knight's Tale* (dir. Brian Helgelund, 2001) recounts the adventures of 'William Thatcher, a peasant squire who breaks all the rules when he passes himself off as a nobleman and takes the jousting world by storm.'[70] Although featuring settings that viewers will identify as medieval, these films simultaneously reference another form of American chivalry, the classic Western. Features of the classic Western include duels fought by rules (combatants invite each other to 'draw' a handgun), quests in search of justice, and a prevailing assumption that women need to be protected. A few Westerns make the connection with chivalry explicit. In the 1957–63 television series *Have Gun, Will Travel*, for example, 'Paladin', played by Richard Boone, is not only a mercenary whose gun can be hired, but also a knight-errant who more often than not helps right wrongs, the theme song calling him 'a knight without armor in a savage land.'[71] His emblem is a chess-set knight. Nevertheless, in the episode titled 'The Knight', when Paladin contracts to assist a member of the European aristocracy in capturing a criminal fugitive, even though Paladin seems to have had an elite upbringing, he is careful to distance himself from Baron Otto von Albrecht's contempt of those whom he considers socially beneath him. Albrecht's sense of honour causes him to kill the criminal, who is his own son and heir, and implicitly the end of the European aristocratic line as the American chivalry embodied by Paladin (who refuses to accept payment) replaces it.[72]

A variety of organizations seek to maintain chivalric action and behavior. Many of these are benevolent, even fun-loving, in approach. Re-enactment societies such as the Society for Creative Anachronism may perform their own versions of jousting and hand-to-hand combat, often with a code of rules to ensure fair play and the safety of participants. The level of claimed authenticity varies from group to group. A variety of websites give those who so choose the chance to research their knightly ancestors or even to inscribe themselves in a chivalric order. The assumption behind such quests to inscribe oneself in the chivalric

[69] J. Jenkins, 'First Knights and Common Men: Masculinity in American Arthurian Film', in *King Arthur on Film: New Essays on Arthurian Cinema*, ed. K. J. Harty (Jefferson, 1999), pp. 81–95.

[70] DVD cover, *A Knight's Tale*, dir. Brian Helgeland, 2001, starring Heath Ledger.

[71] *Have Gun, Will Travel* theme song 'The Ballad of Paladin', sung by Johnny Western.

[72] *Have Gun, Will Travel* episode 5:38 (1962), written by John D. F. Black.

tradition seems to be that being a knight, whether for claimed social status or for other purposes, is still a desirable objective.

Knighthood has inspired a number of benevolent organizations, such as the Roman Catholic fraternal organization the Knights of Columbus. Founded in 1882 in Connecticut by Father Michael McGivney, the organization provided mutual insurance, assisted the poor, and defended Catholicism.[73] In the historically African-American Catholic service organization the Knights of Peter Claver, the male leaders are designated 'Sir Knight' and the female leaders 'Gracious Lady.'[74]

At the same time, some of the less attractive aspects of nineteenth-century medievalism, usually explicit in its classism and its rigid gender assumptions but also suggesting or implying that European Christians have the right to rule the world, have survived in white supremacist organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan, whose chapters often call themselves 'Knights'. The poster for D. W. Griffiths's 1915 film *The Birth of a Nation* shows a Klan member on a rearing horse as a masked Crusader. Ironically, although members of the present-day Ku Klux Klan apparently believe they are crusaders protecting 'American' values in a group modeled very loosely on the Knights Templar, they are not only racist and anti-Semitic but still frequently anti-Catholic. Seemingly forgotten are qualities of generosity and mercy mentioned so often by devotees of chivalric medievalism.

Despite the attempts of various groups to keep chivalry alive, it is now extremely difficult to use the term 'chivalrous' without a hint of irony, a dimension that nineteenth-century chivalric medievalism so often lacked. In a continued conflation of the ideas of chivalry and gentlemanly behavior, for example, a man who opens a door for a woman might be described as 'chivalrous' with tongue slightly in cheek.[75] Even though some might describe a man who changes a wheel for a woman, especially in a dangerous situation such as a major road, as 'chivalrous,' many women would retort they can handle both doors and wheels themselves, and that such actions are a continuation of the gender stereotyping of what should be bygone ages. Nevertheless, at a time when *Game of Thrones* is probably the most discussed video series in the world, the fascination with knights and their way of life lives on.

[73] http://www.kofc.org/un/en/todays-knights/history/index.html (accessed 1 August 2017).

[74] http://www.kofpc.org/ (accessed 1 August 2017).

[75] Internet discussions of whether a man should hold a door open for a woman assume that the practice has its origins in 'chivalry,' although medieval knights would presumably have left opening what doors they had to servants. See, for example, http://fearlessmen.com/opening-a-door-for-a-woman (accessed September 11, 2017).

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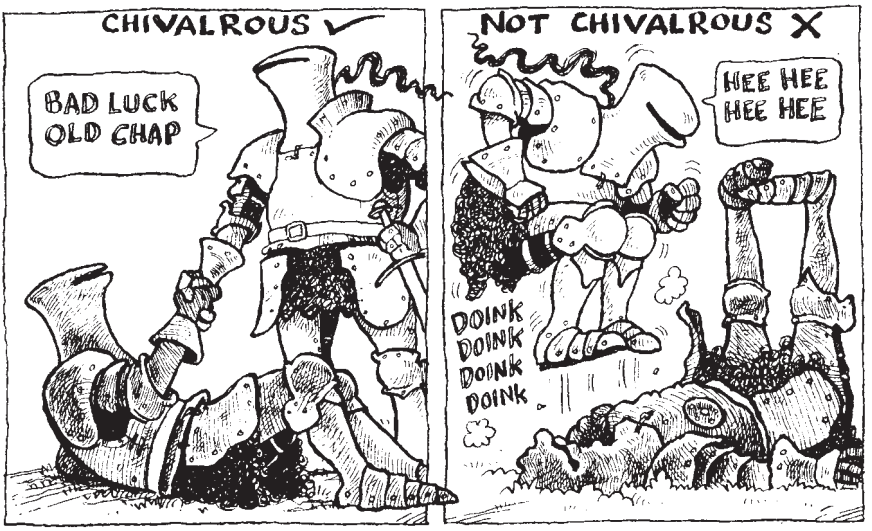

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